UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

CULTURAL CHANGE AND CONSUMPTION SITES: EDMONTON SHOPPING STREETS

BY

VINCENT A. MILLER ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Arts.**

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT

Urban fragmentation on the basis of ethnicity and lifestyle is studied by examining the development of three inner-city shopping streets in Edmonton (Whyte Avenue, 124th Street, and 97th Street) on the basis of landscape, user population, retail structure, pedestrian activity and shopping behaviour, and user perceptions. It is hypothesised that shopping areas that cater to distinct social groups are used more for social or (sub)cultural reasons (for example, identification with surroundings, lure of vitality, events, sense of place, the consumption of symbolic goods and services, and leisure shopping) than for the purchase of basic or functional goods and services. In other words, the roles of these shopping streets are increasingly social, and less functional. Through the use of questionnaires and observation techniques, this study examines the extent to which these areas have become "consumption sites" which cater to distinct social groups.

It was found that the Whyte Avenue area functions as a consumption site for a distinct social group in the Edmonton population. Its existence as a shopping area is dependent on a provision of certain symbolic goods and services in a leisure shopping environment that reflects the values and preferences of its distinct user population, which is drawn from throughout the Edmonton area.

The 97th Street area was found to function mostly as a consumption site for the East Asian community. The area specialises in providing East Asian food products, cultural items, personal services, and an atmosphere to the widely dispersed East Asian population of Edmonton.

The 124th Street area was found to function more as a typical commercial ribbon, and not as a consumption site. The area was found to appeal to a distinct social group. However, its principal function is to provide a mix of basic goods and services to a predominately local population, as well as providing some specialised products to the metropolitan area, with little leisure or socio-cultural element involved.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

It is an accepted part of the urban geographic and sociological literature that, since the mid-nineteen seventies, urban society has been undergoing epochal changes. One large fundamental change has been the switch from industrial cities, whose function was to produce goods and services, to post-industrial cities, in which the function is to consume goods and services, and produce information.

Other changes that have affected cities in new ways include economic restructuring (involving new impacts of technology and the global economy), demographic changes (city populations are getting older and more diverse), and cultural changes. In the cultural sphere, mass media and global communications have created "postmodern sensibilities" (Lash & Urry, 1987) and altered the role of goods and services provision, turning "shopping" into "consumption" (Shields, 1992).

The purpose of this thesis is to document one socio-spatial aspect of urban cultural change in a mid-sized Canadian city. It will examine the emerging form and function of inner-city shopping streets and how they are linked to social fragmentation occurring in the city of Edmonton.

The intention of this introductory section is to construct an overall framework for the study of cultural change as it relates to consumption sites in Edmonton. In light of the fact that this is but one symptom of a larger change in urban society, the next section will provide background on the general economic and social changes that are taking place in Western cities, and their increasing fragmentation as a result. The background will then go on to consider the cultural changes occurring in Western society as they relate to the act of consumption, and further discuss the physical outcomes of these changes with regard to fragmentation, consumption space, cultural capital, and retailing. The final sections will discuss the goals, rationale, and objectives of this thesis.

Economic and social change in cities

Recent economic and social changes in Western capitalist societies have been the subject of much discussion in the geographic literature. On a general level, several authors have discussed the effects of technology and world wide economic restructuring, especially as they pertain to urban areas (Harvey, 1989; Gottdiener & Pickvance, 1991; Thorns, 1992).

There is quite an extensive literature on the economic aspects of this "change" which affected advanced market economies. Examples of topics in this area include: the new global division of labour (Thorns, 1992), the switch from Fordist mass production to flexible accumulation (Harvey, 1988; 1989), the rise of the service industries, particularly producer services (Lash & Urry, 1987; Noyelle & Stanback

1984), the increasing role of information technology (Castells, 1989), as well as deindustrialization and the rationalisation of industry in manufacturing areas (Lever, 1991 on Edinburgh, Scotland).

Accompanying these economic changes are a host of social changes. These include: demographic changes, especially the aging of society and its increasing ethnic diversity (Sternlieb and Hughes, 1988), the increase of localism (Cooke, 1990; Jacobs, 1992), the switch from a productive to a consumptive society (Karp et al, 1991; Shields, 1992), the implications of increasing unemployment and underemployment, the rise of a host of different lifestyle groups and subcultures (Mayer, 1992; Shields, 1992; Eder, 1990; Winters, 1979), and the resulting fragmentation of city politics (Mayer, 1992).

Fragmentation of urban areas

It has been argued by many writers, among them David C. Thorns (1992) and Brian D. Jacobs (1992) that, as a result of these social and economic changes, cities are being split economically and socially. On economic lines, Castells (1989) argues that current economic restructuring (international growth, industrial decline, downgrading and upgrading of labour, and polarising occupational structure in service industries) produces a highly differentiated labour force that expresses itself in very distinct lifestyles and uses of urban space. What results is the dual city, a city which is severed along the economic lines of an increasing gap between rich and poor. Lash and Urry (1987) add that this structural dualism results in a variety of "social universes" which present cities with a proliferation of social groupings. In combination with the effects of mass media and other technology, this has led to a multiplication of lifestyle groups. Thorns argues that cross-cutting these patterns of change are the increased significance of gender and ethnicity. He argues further that these factors affect the nature of local consciousness and identity, which, coupled with the present dominant ideology of individualism, create fragmentation rather than consolidation (Thorns, 1992, pp.282). Ethnicity, in particular, is becoming an increasingly fragmentary force in cities. Rising immigration rates have given Western societies a more pluralistic face as ethnic enclaves multiply in central cities and even in the suburbs (Gottdiener & Pickvance, 1991).

As a whole, Thorns argues "the economic and social changes that have been identified are only part of the move toward a more diverse and potentially fragmented social world. The rise of gender, ethnicity, and locality as a basis for social organization has also had an impact upon patterns of association and the basis upon which social movements have formed" (Thorns, 1992, pp.280). It is argued that the growth of political and cultural pluralism has created conditions leading to a perceived exclusion on the part of individuals and groups from the "centre" (Lash & Urry, 1987). In other words, there is a growing emphasis on local culture and consciousness, and distinguishing group identities in increasing isolation from the larger society.

Through all of this theoretical discussion, what has been the result of these societal changes on urban space? Some of the changes that have been documented include the decentralisation of producer service offices (in Edmonton by Michalak and Fairbairn, 1991), and indeed almost all types of employment (Kumar, 1987) throughout urban areas. As well we see the revitalisation and preservation of ethnic enclaves after long periods of decline, as was the case of Chinatown in Victoria (Lei, 1989) and Strawberry Hill in Kansas City (Greenbaum, 1985), and the use of artist neighbourhoods as revitalisation instruments in New York to initiate upper class gentrification (Zukin, 1984). Winters (1979) argues that this proliferation of ethnic and lifestyle enclaves is a sorting process for urban cultures based on emerging neighbourhood identities.

These changes manifest themselves in inner cities through the processes of gentrification, marginalisation, and polarisation. This leads to the ghettoisation of such groups as single mothers, new immigrants, homosexuals, or, in the case in Paris, impoverished elderly people, lesbians and "down and outs" (Winchester and White, 1988). In turn, the increased existence of pools of cheaper labour (mainly women and immigrants) further accelerates the decentralisation of low wage employment (Scott and Storper, 1986).

Cultural change and consumption

Shields (1992) argues that there has been a qualitative change in the nature of commodity consumption. Consumption has taken on a symbolic role, and is no longer simply commodity exchange. Commodities have become valued for their "aura" of symbolic meanings and values associated with the self rather than their exchange value. In this sense, commodities have become "re-enchanted" (Shields, 1992). Goods now reflect an image that is passed on to the user because people are increasingly being trained through advertising to regard dress and material goods as communicators of status, lifestyle, and personality (Featherstone, 1990).

In this way, shopping centres have moved away from convenience shopping towards a mix of purchasing, leisure, and culture. Commercial success is now dependent on social centrality ("a wilful concentration of a crowd because of social or cultural meaning": Shields, 1992, pp.99), and this is cultivated by contemporary shopping sites in the form of festivals and community events (Shields, 1992). The display of goods and commodities becomes a theatrical display, a spectacle to catch the attention of passers-by and potential consumers and to re-create marketplaces of the past. Shopping has become a cultural activity, and appeals to an imagined communal past through antique themes and ethnic ties (Langman, 1992).

The increased significance of leisure and consumption activities, or shopping as a part of culture, can be traced to the economic and social restructuring of capitalist economies. It can be argued that shopping related activities, mixed in with leisure, are the result of such changes as the shortening of the work week, the introduction of flexi-days, the growing trends toward part-time work and job sharing, as well as the aging of the population, all of which have contributed to urban populations with more leisure time to spend on consumption-related activities (Reekie, 1992) in pursuit of self-identification.

Fragmentation, consumption space, cultural capital, and retail change

Theoretically, a significant change in the ethnic diversity, lifestyle values, and economic status of cities should manifest itself in a change in consumer behaviour and demand. As urban areas become more fractured on the basis of lifestyle, ethnicity and income, this fragmentation should evidence itself either in the formation of, or the demand for, specialised areas that cater to these emerging groups in goods, services, and sense of place.

One example of such an area is gentrified shopping areas. Zukin (1990), in reference to the process of gentrification, uses the term "cultural capital" to refer to strategies of economic development that explicitly and implicitly rely on the expanding organisational capacities of arts activities and allied types of cultural consumption. This produces the consumption space of gentrification involving a certain retail structure and physical infrastructure that appeal to middle and upper-middle income professionals. Godfrey's (1988) comments on how gentrification or subcultural succession have affected the retail areas in inner San Francisco seem to have similar conclusions.

Other examples of such a process are currently scarce, but some examples of fragmentation affecting retail change include Lei's (1988) study of new Chinatowns which are increasingly servicing wealthy Chinese and Oriental immigrants (not a ghettoized population). Certainly new Chinatowns and other ethnic consumption spaces can be seen in the same light as gentrified consumption sites. However, the lack of academic literature can be made up for by the popular media, which often comment on such shifts in newspaper and television news articles [1].

In terms of general retail trends, changes in the culture of shopping have brought about two new processes: the "loss of the middle" (Matthews and Fairbairn, 1994) in which forces of fragmentation are balanced by forces of globalisation, creating a polarised retail structure, and the evolution of "festive markets" (Reekie, 1992) which try to establish shopping centres as areas of social centrality.

GOALS OF THE STUDY

In general, the goal of this study is to examine impacts of recent socio-cultural change as they are manifested in certain areas of Edmonton. This study will demonstrate that changes in lifestyle and ethnic diversity, as well as changes in the cultural act of shopping and consumption, have simultaneously occurred in certain areas of inner city Edmonton.

In particular, this study has two intertwining goals. The first is to determine emerging patterns [2] of social change on the basis of consumer demand, not only for certain types of goods, but certain types of places. These places have cultural appeal, vitality or spectacle, or imbue their users with a sense of place that appeals to certain distinct social groups from the local and metropolitan areas. In this way, these places have gone beyond the function of providing goods and services to a specific area. They have achieved a cultural significance[3] for certain groups. In this sense, these areas are fundamentally different from regular shopping areas, both in the behaviour of their shoppers, and in consumer perception; they have become areas of social centrality for these distinct groups.

The second goal of the study is to determine the physical consequence of "cultural capital" on the urban landscape of these areas with regard to the emergence of these places as specialized retail areas that cater to specific groups. In doing so, these areas should exhibit a retail structure and landscape that are compatible with those user groups.

RATIONALE AND SELECTION OF STUDY AREAS

Edmonton

Edmonton has a metropolitan population of 840,000 people, making it the fourth largest city in Canada. In many ways, Edmonton can be seen as a typical North American mid-sized city. Edmonton is an appropriate example to study North American urban fragmentation in that it is "typical" enough to not be an enigma, and yet cosmopolitan enough (in recent years) to display the symptoms of a mature city that are relevant to this thesis, namely ethnic and lifestyle diversity.

Ethnically, Edmonton has always been diverse, and recent immigration has served to increase that diversity. In the decade between 1981 and 1991 Edmonton received 47 825 immigrants (now constituting 5.75% of its total population) from other countries. Currently 18.4% of the Edmonton population is immigrant, and 8.5% use a home language other than English or French (Census of Canada, 1991).

There are several ethnic groups with significant populations in Edmonton. Most notable are Chinese ethnics numbering roughly 33 000 and an established Chinatown area. There are also significant populations of persons of German, Ukrainian, Polish, Spanish, Italian, Vietnamese, and East Indian descent. The total index of segregation[4] for twelve selected ethnic groups was 0.365, resulting in an almost median score among Canadian CMA's in 1981 (Bourne & Ley, 1993).

Lifestyle differentiation is a harder thing to measure and quantify. However, phenomena such as gentrification and social upgrading (which can be considered symptoms of lifestyle differentiation) which have increasingly been occurring in larger North American cities, have recently occurred in Edmonton as well[5]. McGibbon (1990) has documented classic gentrification in the neighbourhood of Riverdale and social upgrading in the inner-city neighbourhoods of Oliver, Groat Estate, and Garneau. Trends also suggest that gentrification is occurring in the river valley communities of Rossdale and Cloverdale (City of Edmonton, 1986).

In addition to this newer phenomenon, Edmonton has traditionally had, and continues to have, certain amounts of spatial stratification on the basis of socio-economic status, possessing its share of high status districts (Fairbairn, 1978), skid rows, and working class neighbourhoods.

Inner city shopping streets

Shopping streets in inner city areas were selected as appropriate areas to study specialised consumption site development in the city for four reasons:

1. There has been a long standing tendency for inner cities in North America to exhibit enclaves of ethnic, immigrant, and marginalised groups[6]. Inner city shopping streets have traditionally provided the goods and services for these enclaves (examples include "Little Italies", "Chinatowns", and "Red Light districts"). This tradition seems to be continuing with lifestyle groups. Most notably, gentrification is a recent phenomenon that has occurred largely in North American inner cities.
2. Shopping streets are more "natural" in a retail sense than other shopping centres. They can be seen as "grassroots" retailing in that (generally) they are not planned, as shopping malls have been. As a result, there are no restrictions on the location of a business on a shopping street. Site appropriateness is the only limiting factor. In this respect, shopping streets are more "free enterprise" than other retail forms. Therefore, studying agglomerations of similar or specialized businesses in shopping streets is less "contrived" than in other retail areas and more reflective of the user population.
3. The small scale of shopping streets makes them more responsive to demand. Since shopping streets do not attract chain-stores, they are generally collections of smaller and independent businesses, and involve less capital investment than a shopping mall or power centre. Therefore, shopping streets are more likely to have a greater turnover of unprofitable stores, and are thereby intrinsically more likely to reflect the changing demands of the consumers in the area, especially in regards to distinct social groups that may use the area.
4. Shopping streets can attract consumers on a number of spatial scales, unlike other retail forms, such as shopping centres, which are designed to "draw" people from *a certain* trade area around it. Thus, stores are selected with regard to their trade area, from a local scale to a regional to a metropolitan scale, and perhaps beyond[7]. In contrast, shopping streets at any size can serve at *any and all* trade areas; from providing convenience functions for the local area, to serving metropolitan, or even national consumers, all at the same time. Therefore, there are no spatial limitations or biases when examining any distinct social groups that any shopping street in question may attract.

The Study Areas

The study sites were selected on the basis of meeting at least three of five criteria that were considered to be important, (although no one was considered to be essential) in achieving the goals of the thesis. These criteria (in order of importance) are as follows:

1. *Apparent vitality or retail success* was considered to be important because the first piece of evidence to indicate social centrality or cultural significance would be whether or not people actually go there.

2. *A retail structure or pedestrian population that suggests, initially, an appeal to distinct ethnic or lifestyle groups* was considered important because it indicates the potential appeal to certain groups and therefore the potential for cultural significance.

3. *Recent or current gentrification, social upgrading (suggesting lifestyle concentration) in the nearby residential area. Ethnic or elite concentrations in the nearby area evidencing lifestyle or ethnic differentiation.* This criterion was included because such a nearby concentration would provide a nearby social group that could use the area *en masse.*

4. *Business revitalisation zone status and/or a business association which markets the area as a whole, and is involved in revitalisation projects and festival promotion*. This criterion was included because these institutions are responsible for the promotion of the area, and therefore they publicise an image for the area and its cultural capital, as well as having a hand in manipulating it.

5. *Exhibition of new retail forms characteristic of cultural change*. This demonstrates that the area is active, changing, and trying to attract new consumers.

Three shopping streets met most of these criteria; Whyte (82nd) Avenue, 97th Street (from 105th to 109th Avenue), and 124th Street (Figure 1.1).

Whyte Avenue/Old Strathcona

Whyte Avenue met all of the above criteria. It is by far the most vital shopping street in the city; indeed, its success has been so great in terms of retailing that commercial retail spaces in certain areas of Old Strathcona now exceed $25 a square foot, and have quadrupled in value in the last 15 years (Ogle, 1995).

In terms of the second criterion, the Whyte Avenue/Old Strathcona area exhibits a strong appeal to certain sub-cultural communities in Edmonton. Its retail structure and pedestrian population both are unique in Edmonton and reflect this area's appeal to an Edmonton sub-culture.

The third criterion was met in that the nearby Garneau and Strathcona neighbourhoods have undergone substantial social upgrading (McGibbon, 1990), and may currently be in the processes of classic gentrification.

Most of the Whyte Avenue area is under the rubric of the Old Strathcona Foundation and the Old Strathcona Merchants' Association, thus fulfilling the fourth criterion. Finally, this area (particularly Old Strathcona) exhibits many aspects of Reekie's "festive market" retail form (to be discussed in greater detail in chapter two) which fulfils the fifth criterion.

The 97th Street Area (New Chinatown)

The 97th Street area met four of the above criteria. There is no questioning its retail success. This area is likely the most vital area in downtown Edmonton. Pedestrians and cars jam the streets and side walks most weekdays and certainly on the weekends (Dawson, 1991). The area has also experienced a retail building boom in that three shopping centres and several buildings have been built or redeveloped

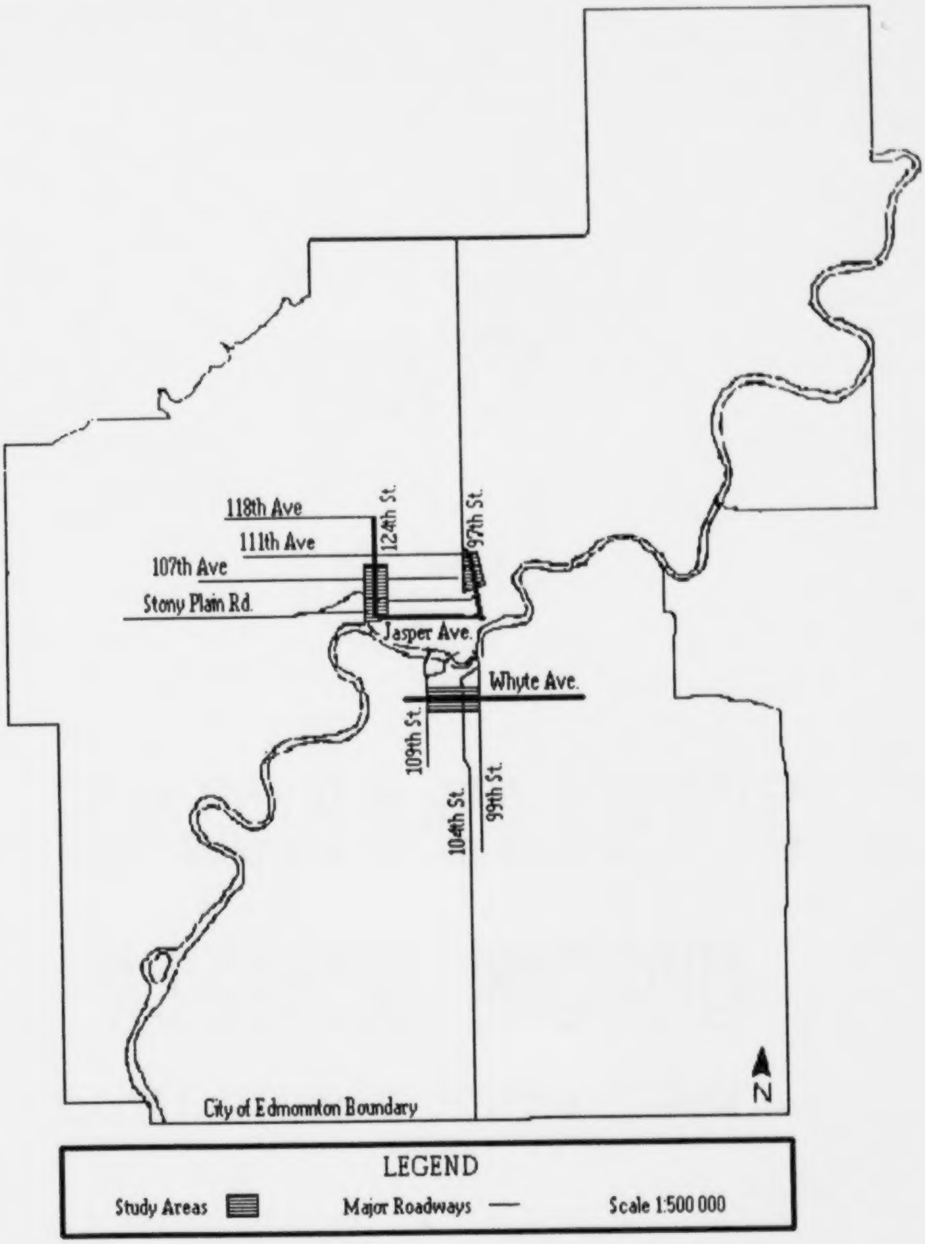

118th Ave
111th Ave
107th Ave
Stony Plain Rd.
124th St.
97th St.
Jasper Ave.
Whyte Ave.
109th St.
104th St.
99th St.
City of Edmonton Boundary
N
LEGEND
Study Areas ▤
Major Roadways —
Scale 1:500 000

Figure 1.1: Locations of Study Areas.

in the last five years, thereby expanding the shopping area west to 101st Street.

In terms of the second criterion, this area happens to be the "new Chinatown" in Edmonton (Lei 1989), and therefore has a retail structure serving an Oriental population.

While the nearby area has definitely not undergone gentrification [8], there is a substantial amount of nearby ethnic concentration of Asians (constituting roughly 22% of the population in the three surrounding census tracts). This is somewhat due to the "old Chinatown" [9] a few blocks away. This was enough to fulfil the third criterion. The fourth criterion was met in that the Avenue of Nations Business Revitalisation Zone has this area under its jurisdiction, and thereby is responsible for revitalisation efforts and events promotion.

In terms of exhibiting new retail forms, the 97th Street area does not fully meet this criterion. While the area does exhibit a few shopping centres with unusual characteristics or design, these did not quite qualify as new retail forms characteristic of cultural change.

The 124th Street Area

The 124th Street area met four of the above criteria. The major difference between this area and the other two is that 124th street did not meet criterion number one, vitality or retail success. This was judged to be the case because of several retail vacancies and lack of a substantial pedestrian population even during peak hours.

The second criterion was met in that this area's retail structure seems to indicate that the area does provide goods and services to some distinct social groups, notably gentrifiers, and homosexuals.

Social upgrading has taken place in the nearby neighbourhoods of Oliver and Groat Estate (McGibbon, 1990), fulfilling the third criterion. The fourth criterion was met because of the existence of the 124th Street Business Association. The fifth criterion was met (although tenuously) in the presence of the short lived Old Glenora Market.

The perception prior to data and survey collection was that both 97th Street and Whyte Avenue had become culturally significant to their user populations, while 124th Street had not achieved a cultural significance or consumer place identity on a scale (or perhaps to the kind of social groups) indicative of a vital consumption site. Therefore, the area was perceived to act more as a functional and convenience area for the local and commuting (or transient) population.

OBJECTIVES

As stated earlier, the goals of this thesis are to investigate whether these shopping areas are beginning to function as activity spaces for distinct social groups, and to provide evidence for the physical outcomes of this change in function.

To reach these goals, several physical and social aspects of these areas must be examined. Each of these correspond with one objective in the thesis; there are five in all.

There are two objectives in the physical realm:

1. *Landscape and amenity analysis.* This objective will be to determine how the landscape, development history, landmarks, sounds, signs, and architecture reflect the values or preferences of certain groups and make the place distinctive. Its purpose is to examine important aspects of the place (apart from retail structure) and how they encourage or provide evidence for vitality, sense of place, and distinctiveness in each study area.

2. *Determination and examination of the retail structure.* The purpose of this objective is to show evidence that the goods and services offered in each area are structured or have evolved in such a way which appeals to (or reflect the demands of) certain types of people. This leads to a specialised retail area indicative of the lifestyles of certain social groups. This is part of the social fragmentation process in that specialised consumption spaces are another way that economic and social life are being fragmented in urban areas.

In the social realm, there are three additional aspects of consumer behaviour that need to be examined:

3. *Determination of the user population*. If one is going to argue that these activity spaces are being used by specific groups, one has to determine what distinct groups are actually using the area. As well, demographic and lifestyle habits of these groups must be determined. Therefore, demographic and lifestyle data of shoppers, purchasers, browsers, and loiterers in each area must be collected to achieve the goals.

4. *Determination of user activities* is another objective that must be met. In order to determine whether or not these shopping areas are fulfilling social or cultural needs in addition to shopping needs, knowledge of what people actually do in these areas is essential in determining the function of these areas. Activities that need to be considered include purposive shopping, leisure shopping, meeting, loitering, and passing through. If the user population in a given area is found to be engaging in activities more indicative of social or cultural behaviour than economic activities (i.e. single purpose trips or convenience shopping) one can conclude that the area is more indicative of a consumption site.

5. *Determination of user perceptions*. It must be determined whether the user population perceives the area in question as a functional centre, as a social centre, or something else. Since one of the goals of this study is to determine whether these areas *function* as social areas, the last step in determining this is to establish if these areas are *perceived* social areas by their user populations. As a result, perceptual criteria such as "sense of place" and associative descriptions should show a higher emphasis on social aspects than functional ones in areas that have achieved social centrality. As well, one can look for consistencies within and between groups in terms of the "personality" or "essence" of the place.

METHODS

The specific methods for data collection for each individual objective will be outlined at the beginning of each chapter. However, in this section, research methods and data collection will be discussed in general.

For the most part, there are two types of research methods which this study relies upon, observational and survey/interview methods. The observational research consists of two main stages:

1. *Observations of the physical environment* which examine the physical environment in regards to landscape (qualitative amenity analysis) and retail structure (objectives one and two above). This involves the collection of data on stores, store types and other physical aspects by simply walking through and experiencing the area.
2. *Observations of the social environment* include the measurement of the shopping (or leisure) activity of pedestrians or user population in the area. As a result, these relate to objectives three and four above. Phenomena such as pedestrian density, store activity, and user demographics will be measured or estimated by creating a number of "observation stations" (Appendix 2) in each area, where the researcher will record these characteristics for a given length of time (30 minutes). These "stations" will be rotated in such a way that a fairly reliable (i.e typical) "picture" of each area is developed for each day and time of day.

Survey/interview methods also consist of two stages:

1. *A major questionnaire stage*, which is the focus of the thesis. The intention of the questionnaire is to investigate several aspects of user population shopping behaviour in each study area including: their visits and purchases that day; perception of the area; personal/demographic data. These relate to objectives three, four, and five respectively.

The purpose of the questionnaire was threefold: to determine what customers and users actually *do* in each place; what they *think about* the place; and what the users themselves *are like*. The results from each area can then be compared with one another. The survey was administered to pedestrians and store customers[10] in the month of August, 1994. Unfortunately, only seven customer responses were obtained from the 97th Street area. As a result, the study can only provide pedestrian responses for the 97th Street area. The seven customer questionnaires were added to the pedestrian population responses.

2. *A minor interview stage*, which consisted of two brief informal interviews of selected rally organisers who have located in one of the study areas. These interviews investigated whether the location events are affected by the "essence of place" or place identity that these areas do or do not carry. This relates to objective number five of the thesis.

THESIS STRUCTURE

This study is organised in such a way that each individual objective corresponds with a chapter in the thesis. As a result, there are seven chapters following this one; one for each objective and one each for the literature review and the conclusion.

The thesis chapters are as follows:

Chapter Two: Literature review. The literature review will examine recent literature relevant to cultural and related retail changes taking place in urban areas. As well, the literature review will examine recent work on ethnic and lifestyle enclaves in inner city areas. This will focus on chinatowns as well as the concept of emerging neighbourhood identities. The literature review will also comment on topics related to the evaluation and measurement of urban vitality, and sense of place as aspects of perception and use of places by a population.

Chapter Three: Development History and Qualitative Amenity Analysis. This chapter relates to the first objective. It will briefly examine how the area has developed in the past, and assess the present landscape in terms of features that distinguish it as a unique place reflecting the values of certain groups.

Chapter Four: User Population. This chapter is related to the third objective and will demonstrate that these areas appeal to and are used by fundamentally different groups of people.

Chapter Five: Retail Structure. This chapter will deal with the second objective of the thesis. It will demonstrate any unique or specialised retail structure that these areas posess that can be related to the lifestyles of the user population groups indicated in chapter four.

Chapter Six: User Activity. This will focus on the fourth objective and will examine what kinds of activities people in each of the study areas are engaged in, particularly in terms of vitality, non-purposive shopping, and symbolic consumption.

Chapter Seven: User Perception. This chapter relates to the fifth objective. It will determine whether the user population in each area perceives the area in question either as a socially central or culturally significant place, or as a functional shopping centre.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions. Chapter eight will conclude the study by summarising the findings of all previous chapters combined; it will then relate these findings back to the general concepts of cultural change and urban fragmentation discussed earlier in the introduction. As well, suggestions for future research will be put forward.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is somewhat eclectic in that it borrows concepts from several different disciplines including Geography, Sociology, Economic Anthropology, and Marketing Research. Therefore, research in several subjects, which may seem unrelated, but are directly relevant to this thesis will be reviewed. A review of recent literature on lifestyle enclaves and chinatowns is necessary in that these subjects examine urban social differentiation, albeit at a residential level. The subjects of consumption and retail change are reviewed to illustrate the approach from which these shopping areas will be studied and then compared to more traditional studies on the form and function of shopping streets. Literature on sense of place and urban vitality are also relevant to this study because these subject areas deal with non-utilitarian attachment to places by people. The subjects of consumption, retail change, lifestyle enclaves, chinatowns, shopping streets, sense of place, and urban vitality will divide the remainder of this chapter into six major sections.

CONSUMPTION

There is a wide literature in Sociology and Economic Anthropology on the subject of consumption; however, few definitions of the term are put forward. Mary Douglas, one of the first writers on the topic, defined consumption as "a use of material possessions that is beyond commerce and free within the law" (Douglas & Isherwood, 1979 pp.57), whereas Bocock (1993) defines consumption loosely as "a social and cultural process involving cultural signs and symbols, not simply as an economic, utilitarian process" (Bocock, 1993 pp.2). From these two definitions, one can assume two principal qualities of what consumption is: the non-economic or utilitarian use of or desire for goods and commodities, and the use of and desire for commodities as symbols.

Theories of Consumption

Theories of consumption can be divided into two approaches: these have been labelled by Featherstone (1990) as "the production of consumption" and "modes of consumption".

The *production of consumption* perspective is largely based on the writings of Jean Baudrillard (1985). He suggests that all consumption is the consumption of symbolic signs. As a result of constant media manipulation, the meaning of these signs are "free floating" in the sense that they do not have a pre-existing set of meanings, people themselves choose what they represent. In this way, consumption is a process in which the consumer who buys a good is engaged in trying to create and maintain a sense of identity through the display of that good. His or her display of goods also signifies what or who that person is to others who share the same code of signifiers, signs, and symbols (Bocock, 1993).

The *modes of consumption* approach is best represented in the work of Mary Douglas and Pierre Bourdieu. This perspective concentrates on the socially structured ways that goods are used to demarcate social relationships. Douglas and Isherwood (1979) argue that the enjoyment of goods is partly centred around their actual physical consumption, but also around their use as markers in sharing names with others. This applies with day-to-day activities as well as goods, where our use of time conforms to the habits of our class, thereby conveying an accurate image of our status (Featherstone 1990).

Bourdieu (1984) pursues these same concepts, but in greater detail. Consumption, he argues, can be seen as a set of social and cultural practices which serve as a way of establishing differences between social groups; this involves not only signs and symbols, but values and lifestyles as well. Using an analysis of French society, Bourdieu suggested that each class faction possesses and values different amounts of economic and cultural capital, which is inherited through family and enhanced by occupation. The consumption patterns of each person (involving taste in friends, clothes, holidays, music) is largely determined by the *habitus* of the class faction he or she is in; the *habitus*, in turn, is affected by the possession or value of either economic or cultural capital. In the "new" middle, working, and upper classes, consumption patterns which focus on lifestyle become particularly important.

Consumption Sites; Organisation of Consumption

Literature on consumption sites (the places where consumption occurs) is mostly related to shopping malls, which are not the particular focus of this thesis. However, several authors provide generalisations about the nature of consumption sites. The most prevalent theme is that consumption sites are *liminal* spaces (spaces where another place or time is perceived or re-created). Goss (1990) has noted that shopping centres traditionally associate themselves with liminoid experiences which often involve historical or exotic references which are exhibited in architecture (often historic reconstruction or "genuine replicas"), place names (such as "old towns" and "farmers markets"), and carnivalesque images and performers (Goss, 1990 pp.28). This is also noticed by Zukin, who argues that the consumption sites of gentrification and Disneyworld use a mythology of middle-class childhood (historic downtowns and Disney cartoons) to transform their sites into idealised places far from the outside world (Zukin 1990). Featherstone notes that the role of the carnivalesque in consumer culture and shopping areas is to produce and promote excess, romanticism of "better times", and a bizarre and disorienting juxtaposition of images (Featherstone, 1990 pp.14-16).

In regards to the landscape and structure of downtowns and waterfront districts, Goss notes that "no self-respecting city seems complete without its own festival marketplace, replicating more or less the original formula... this retail environment is consciously reminiscent of the commercial world city, with its quaysides and urban produce markets, replete with open stalls, colourful awnings.."(Goss, 1990 pp.23). Similarly Zukin (1990) and Beauregard (1986) have observed that gentrified commercial areas cater to the specific needs of gentrifiers in providing social spaces (bars and coffee shops), international restaurants, designer boutiques, and art galleries.

Shields (1992) focuses more on the role of the consumption site as a site of spectacle, *flanerie* (aimless strolling), leisure, and the social centrality which occurred in marketplaces of the past. Reekie (1992) notes that two essential features of "festival marketplaces" are unique retail (exotic ethnic goods, handmade goods, and decorative items), and leisure retailing (Reekie, 1992, pp.185).

It follows from the literature on consumption and consumption sites that three factors tend to characterise these areas; 1.they are liminal and carnivalesque spaces, 2.they are sites of leisure, flanerie, and social centrality, and 3.their meaning goes beyond mere commodity purchasing and approaches themes of self-identification (by providing symbolic goods) and social distinction (by catering to habitus and providing cultural capital).

RETAIL CHANGE

The last two decades have seen several changes and innovations in retailing which have attracted attention by geographers and others. In general, three trends in retailing relevant to this thesis have been the polarisation of the retail structure, the rise of lifestyle retailing (or market segmentation, or niche marketing), and the recognition of leisure retailing.

Matthews and Fairbairn (1994) have argued that the two fundamental forces influencing retail change are the forces of *globalisation* and *specialisation*: globalisation in the form of the increased internationalisation of the economy, the rise of dominant multi-national corporations, a global information culture, and ecological imperatives by consumers: specialisation in the form of an established rebellion against uniformity and integration.

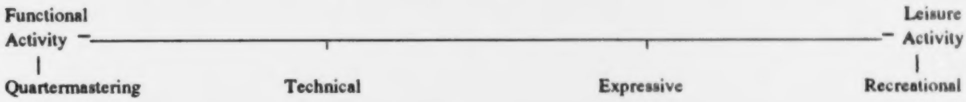
These trends have resulted in an increasingly polarised retail structure with growth of development forms and retail types with a large mass appeal (many goods and services, low prices). These include super power centres, hyper-markets, warehouse stores, and "category killers". On the other end, the most specialised development forms and retail types are encouraged, including specialty centres, ethnic shopping areas, and single-category (hyper-specialised) stores. Meanwhile the "middle" of the retail structure, characterised by regional malls and department stores, declines. This thesis focuses on elements on the specialised side of the spectrum.

These trends were also noticed by Blackwell and Talarzyk (1983) where supply-side retailing was contrasted with life-style retailing (Blackwell and Talarzyk, 1983 pp.9). They observed that retailing in the 1970's heralded the era of "positioning" in that retailers started to pay attention to lifestyle segments. In the 1980's the concept of "portfolio strategy" evolved from the previous decade, where small chains are oriented to a very specific target market.

Linneman (1991) noted that the rise of niche marketing was largely due to splintering of the markets themselves (for example, into single-parent families, working mothers, seniors, yuppies, and mosaics of ethnic and minority groups) and to advances in technology which helps aid target marketing (such as computer aided and flexible manufacturing, sophisticated data collection, storage, and tracking methods, and a more targeted media). As a result, marketing literature such as Weinstien (1987) discuss how businesses could and should use a niche marketing approach by segmenting markets on the basis of physical attributes (demographics) and behavioural attributes (psycographics). Mowen (1990) states that the use of psychographics such as the Values and Lifestyles Typology (which will be discussed in detail in chapter four) has grown dramatically since the early 1980's (Mowen, 1990 pp.212). Goss (1993) has also noted market segmentation in regards to mall development, and that the literature is quite plain about the conscious social differentiation of the retail built environment and the sociospatial segregation of consumption activity.

Another retail trend is the rise of leisure retailing. Although there has been surprisingly little academic research or literature on the subject (Jackson 1991), as the trend toward mixing leisure and shopping has grown, so has the literature on the subject. Jansen-Verbeke (1990) commented on the use and potential of leisure shopping developments as tourist attractions in European cities. As well, Newbey (1993) has linked a rise in the amount of leisure time with a rise in shopping as a leisure activity. He separates shopping behaviours into four categories on a functional leisure continuum (Newbey, 1993 pp.213).

Figure 2.1: Categories of Shopping Behaviour (Newby, 1993).



Quartermastering is the purchase of everyday essentials, technical shopping is the purchase of goods that do the job of work (mostly durables). Expressive shopping is for goods that project the image of the buyer (such as clothes), and recreational shopping is shopping as a pure leisure activity.

As well, Newbie suggests that the mix of leisure and retailing has produced such developments as *combination centres* (centres which combine leisure and shopping facilities, such as West Edmonton Mall), environmental enhancement and entertainment in shopping centres, and festival markets.

LIFESTYLE ENCLAVES

Cities have always been areas of diversity. Indeed Fischer (1974) has argued that cities, because of their sheer numbers of persons, congregate, intensify, and promote sub-cultures and unconventionality by attracting "critical masses" of persons with common tendencies. This results in cities (particularly inner cities) fostering ethnic and lifestyle enclaves.

The amount of research on lifestyle diversity in inner cities has increased in recent years with the rise of inner city redevelopment, most notably gentrification (for example see Smith and Williams, 1986) . Winters (1979) argued that most literature on the subject of rejuvenation has ignored the relationship with the inclination of many middle class Americans (of the 1970's) to sort themselves by lifestyle, occupation, or politics, and that they may incorporate their residential location into the self-identification process. The result of this has been a blossoming of urban neighbourhoods reflecting personal identities. Examples of this included gay, chic, artist, and black revitalised neighbourhoods.

Gentrification has also been discussed by Zukin (1980) in an examination of Greenwich Village. She argued that gentrification of industrial lofts in that area was the result of upper-middle class professionals identifying with the "artist lifestyle", seeking out areas associated with artists and the art world. Similarly, Mills (1988) noted that the "new class" gentrifying Fairview Slopes in Vancouver were seeking out the "super-image of the urban lifestyle" (Mills, 1988 pp.187) which was to be achieved by living in an area (and a landscape) which was symbolic of an upwardly-mobile status.

In his study of the San Francisco gay community, Castells (1982) noted that the territorial dimension of the community started with the frequency of gay social spaces (gay bars) starting in the early 1960's. Eventually, lifestyle spilled over from the nighttime bars into the daytime streets, and eventually resulted in residential concentration and a concerted effort to establish gay businesses and shops in the area (Castells, 1982 pp.141, 145, 156). Other than this study, research on lifestyle enclaves has largely ignored the role of, or the effect on, commercial areas as a focus for these types of communities.

CHINATOWNS

Most of the current literature on chinatowns focuses on their role in the past residential segregation of the Chinese community. Lei (1988) documented the formation of chinatowns in Canada in the late nineteenth century as a result of property and ownership restrictions, forced segregation, violence by whites, cultural barriers, and economic factors (i.e. location of sponsors). Anderson (1987) focused on the image of chinatown which was portrayed in Vancouver's media, and its role in creating anti-Chinese sentiment by stereotyping Chinese immigrants. Light and Wong (1974) focused on the dilemmas of modern chinatowns with their need to attract tourism on the one hand, and the need to address the racism and social pathologies that begat their existence, on the other.

Most other literature on chinatowns has focused on their role as providers of political and cultural services. These include family clan organisations, the Chinese Freemasons, and Chinese benevolent societies which occur in any sizeable chinatown (Hoe, 1976, Dawson, 1991, and Lei, 1988). Comments on the retail structure of chinatowns are virtually non-existent. Lei (1988) comments briefly on the development of "new chinatowns" as shopping districts, and not residential or cultural areas (Lei 1988 pp.157).

SHOPPING STREETS

There is a surprising lack of research on shopping streets in the geographic literature. Until recently, Berry's (1958 and 1959) classifications of commercial ribbons into four distinct groups, traditional shopping streets, urban arterials, suburban ribbons, and highway oriented retailing, were not elaborated upon. Later, Johnson and Boal (1968) and Johnson and Chow-Li (1972) were able to distinguish two general features of commercial ribbons, multi-functionality and linear form.

Jones (1984) improved upon the Berry classification by differentiating between inner-city and suburban ribbons. Inner-city strips consisted of main streets, ethnic/minority streets, and neighbourhood shopping streets. In his analysis of specialty retailing in inner-city Toronto, Jones found that the inner-city system was comprised of a series of relatively distinct "specialised" function areas. These included art and antique clusters, neighbourhood shopping strips, central city fashion districts, and product-oriented shopping areas (Jones, 1984 pp.205).

SENSE OF PLACE

Sense of place is subject to a rather confused and vague body of literature. It seems to be one of those terms that is used in a variety of ways, and has several different meanings. The concept is directly relevent to this thesis for two reasons: first, it conveys the notion *meaning* for a place by the people who use it (i.e the *importance* of a place to a person); secondly, how the physical features of an area can contribute to a sense of place, or are evidence of it. These are related to the first and fifth objectives of the thesis.

Eyles (1985) uses an approach between positivistic and non-positivistic in his analysis of Towcester, England. He argues that sense of place cannot be measured, but the behaviour that relates to the sense can be. Eyles considers sense of place to be ways in which people can be attached to territory and identified ten "senses" of place using open-ended questionnaires:

1. *Social* sense of place involves the attachment to place on the basis that the place is a centre of social ties and interaction, or a centre of networks.
2. *Apathetic/aquiescent* sense of place can be regarded as having no sense of place at all, people who demonstrate little interest or commitment to the place.
3. *Instrumental* sense of place occurs when one views the place as a means to an

end. The place is significant to the extent that it provides goods, services, and formal opportunities for the person. The place is seen as having a great use value for the individual.

4. *Nostalgic* sense of place occurs when the person is dominated by feelings towards the place at some other time than the present, either through events that occurred there, or through a past image with which the place is still associated. Historic areas such as London may inspire nostalgic sense of place.

5. *Commodity* sense of place refers to how the place provides for an "ideal" living environment. It is related to lifestyle values, or a lifestyle oriented commitment to place. Seeing a suburb as "a good place to raise a family" is an example of commodity sense of place.

6. Eyles also sees a *"platform"* or *"stage"* sense of place category (admittedly clumsily labelled) related with commodity sense of place where people identify with areas that have people like themselves.

7. *Family* sense of place occurs when people feel they belong to a place because it is where family is located.

8. *Way of life* sense of place has to do with the importance placed on a place by an individual because that place is the location of the major facets of the individual's life: the culmination of jobs, friends, social and associational life. In a sense, it is how much of an individual's life is "caught up" in the place.

9. Related to this, *roots*-oriented sense of place is associated with an inertia of having lived in the place for a long period of time, or having a family history there.

10. *Environmental* sense of place differs from the above in that it has more to do with an aesthetic experience of the landscape, particularly the physical landscape. This attachment has little to do with social or lifestyle criteria, but a love of a certain physical environment in its own right.

Peterson and Saarinen (1986) follow a similar approach to the subject. They point out that shared sentiment and identity can be evaluated through the frequency of common local symbols. Names (such as street and establishment names) and signs (such as community and establishment signs) express a self-consciousness of place among the resident population, if themes and symbols occur consistently. A good example of this type of investigation is provided by an examination of Tucson, Arizona in which the frequency of desert, mountain, Indian, and Spanish symbols and themes in establishment signs and names are an example of place identity.

URBAN VITALITY

Urban vitality is a concept which has received very little attention in the geographic literature other than in an anecdotal sense. To this author's knowledge, Maas (1984) is the only comprehensive study on the phenomenon of urban vitality that has ever been attempted. In an analysis of four shopping streets in Vancouver, he concluded that urban vitality is composed of a variety of social, economic, experiential, and spatial components. For Maas, the characteristics of urban vitality are: 1. dense pedestrian population; 2. a heterogeneous pedestrian population; 3.

particular pedestrian behaviour; 4. pedestrian continuity; 5. variety and uniqueness of (shopping and leisure) opportunities; 6. a suitable human scale and pedestrian environment.

Of particular interest to this thesis are the social components of vitality. Implicit in Maas' argument is the assertion that vital places are social places. This is directly relevant to achieving the second goal of the thesis. According to Maas, the specifically social elements of vitality are a sizeable pedestrian population, a pedestrian behaviour consistent with vitality, and pedestrian continuity, which were surveyed through measured pedestrian counts and general observation.

CONCLUSIONS

Overall, a review of the literature suggests there has been no serious attempt to examine inner-city shopping streets as foci (or consumption space) for lifestyle or ethnic groups, even though some research has been done on residential concentration. As well, there is a lack of research on shopping streets in general, both in terms of their structure, and their use as consumption sites. This is particularly true of ethnic shopping streets. Nor has there been any attempt to investigate the function that shopping streets may provide in terms of providing social, leisure, and sense of place amenities.

The overall literature does point to a number of trends relevant to this thesis which may be occurring. In terms of fragmentation, some research has noted the increased tendency for people to segregate themselves on the basis of lifestyle. This trend has been shown in lifestyle enclaves, in market segmentation, and in consumption habits. As well, the literature suggests that there has been an increased tendency to view shopping as a social, symbolic, and leisure event, which could point to a functional change in the nature of some shopping areas into consumption sites.

CHAPTER THREE
DEVELOPMENT HISTORY AND QUALITATIVE AMENITY ANALYSIS

OBJECTIVE

The objective of this chapter is to determine how the overall landscape of each study area, as affected by development history, pedestrian and auto amenities, landmarks, signs, and architecture, contributes to a sense of place and urban vitality. It will examine important physical aspects of each place (apart from retail structure) that are not easily categorised. This is the first objective of the thesis.

The chapter will consist of three main sections in which landscape features of each study area are discussed individually. The majority of data was collected through field surveys conducted in May of 1994. Additional data were collected using the 1995 Edmonton Telephone directory and brochures published by the various business associations involved with the study areas.

WHYTE AVENUE

Boundaries of the Whyte Avenue study area were selected on the basis of boundaries used in previous commercial ribbon studies by the City of Edmonton (1973), and on the basis of functional boundaries determined in observational research. The area consists of the commercial strip which extends along 82nd Avenue between 99th Street and 109th Street. It also includes the "Old Strathcona" area between 81st Avenue and 83rd Avenue, on either side of 104th Street (see Figure 3.1). The strip is traversed by the major traffic arteries of 103rd and 104th Streets, and bordered by 99th and 109th Streets which are also major roadways.

Historical Development and Revitalisation

The Whyte Avenue study area is one of the oldest commercial districts in Edmonton. It was first developed in the 1880's when the Canadian Pacific Railroad made its way to the town of Strathcona. Strathcona served as the northern terminus for the railway and Whyte Avenue was its main street. After the cities of Edmonton and Strathcona were amalgamated in 1904, Whyte Avenue continued to be the major commercial area on the south side for many years. Its position was strengthened by the building of the High Level bridge which turned the avenue into a major traffic artery. This was also aided by the nearby University of Alberta campus and the increasing densities of nearby residential areas in the 1960's and 1970's (City of Edmonton, 1973).

The recent development history of Whyte Avenue started with the formation of the Old Strathcona Foundation, which began in 1974 as a response to a proposed city plan to build a large freeway down Whyte Avenue (Cerentig, 1991). The foundation purchased several buildings including the Princess Theatre, and later transformed the

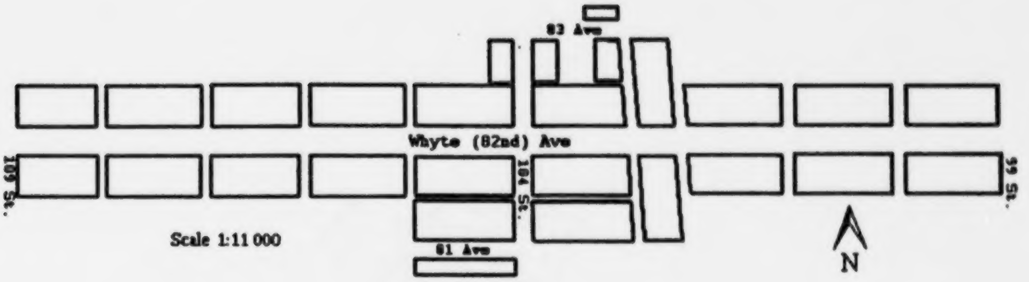

83 Ave
Whyte (82nd) Ave
109 St.
104 St.
99 St.
81 Ave
Scale 1:11 000
N

Figure 3.1: The Whyte Avenue Study Area

Figure 3.2: Streetscape Improvements on Whyte Avenue.

Strathcona bus barns into a Farmers' Market, as well as refurbished the streetscape in the mid-1980's with brick side walks, decorated lampposts, and treed medians (see Figure 3.2).

Historic Buildings and Landmarks

The Whyte Avenue study area, in particular Old Strathcona, possesses a large number of historic buildings and landmarks. In all, there are thirteen buildings and landmarks of historic importance in the study area (Figure 3.3). Most of the buildings are Edwardian in style and were built between 1890 and 1920. The Old Strathcona Foundation renovated most of these buildings in the latter 1970's and early 1980's, and the historical element of the area is publicised and encouraged by the foundation in advertisements, activities, and brochures.

Place Names and Identity

Names and signs of commercial and non-commercial establishments are a landscape feature which serve to reflect and enhance local place identity (Peterson & Saarinen, 1986). In the Whyte Avenue study area this is particularly strong with respect to three general themes that occur in establishment names. Common in the area are names where the area itself is dominant. A perusal of the 1995 Edmonton Telephone Directory shows twenty-one businesses in the study area whose names begin with "Whyte", "Old Strathcona", or "Strathcona". In addition, there are several stores and establishments which end their name with "on Whyte".

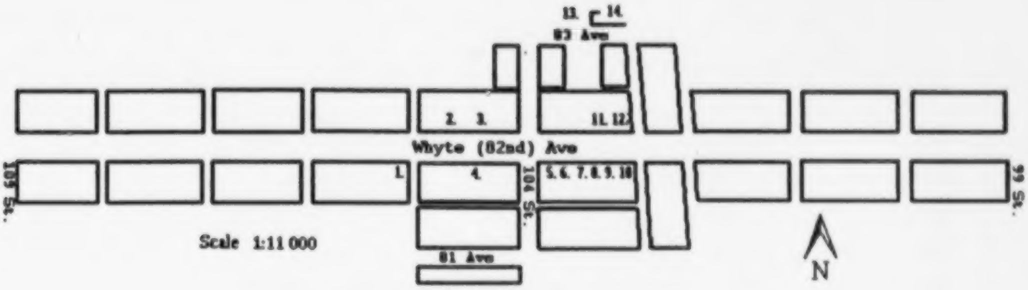
A second theme occurring in establishment names are international references. This is likely the result of the large number of restaurants occurring in the area. Twenty-six establishments in the study area use international references in their names, some examples include "New York Bagel Cafe", "The Inca Boutique", and "Chianti Restaurante". A third naming theme noticeable in area businesses are historic references, featuring words like "Village", "Cottage", and "Shoppe".

People Places

The Whyte Avenue/Old Strathcona area has developed a landscape that focuses on the street as a people place. This can be seen in the large number of patios, pedestrian and bicycle facilities (and concurrent lack of auto facilities), and open spaces.

In the study area, side walks are consistently flanked by a large number of patios (see Figure 3.5). In the summer of 1994 twenty-three businesses had at least two tables and chairs placed either directly on the side walk, or in permanently constructed attached patios. The vast majority of these patios face the street, and add considerably to the sense that this area is a people place, where chatting, running into friends, and people watching are a common activity.

Pedestrian and bicycle facilities are another noticeable part of the landscape.


13
14
83 Ave
2. 3.
11. 12.
Whyte (82nd) Ave
1.
4.
5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.
109 St.
104 St.
99 St.
Scale 1:11 000
81 Ave
N

1. Old Strathcona Post Office (1911, three story)
2. Douglas Block (1912)
3. Richards Block (1910)
4. Chapman Brothers Store (1901)
5. Tipton Block (1911)
6. Hub Newsstand (1894)
7. Gainer Block (1902)
8. Princess Theatre (1914)
9. Commercial Hotel (1912)
10. Ross Block (1894)
11. Dominion Hotel (rebuilt)
12. Strathcona Hotel (1891)
13. McIntyre Fountain
14. Strathcona Bus Barns (now farmers market)

Figure 3.4: Historic Buildings on Whyte Avenue.

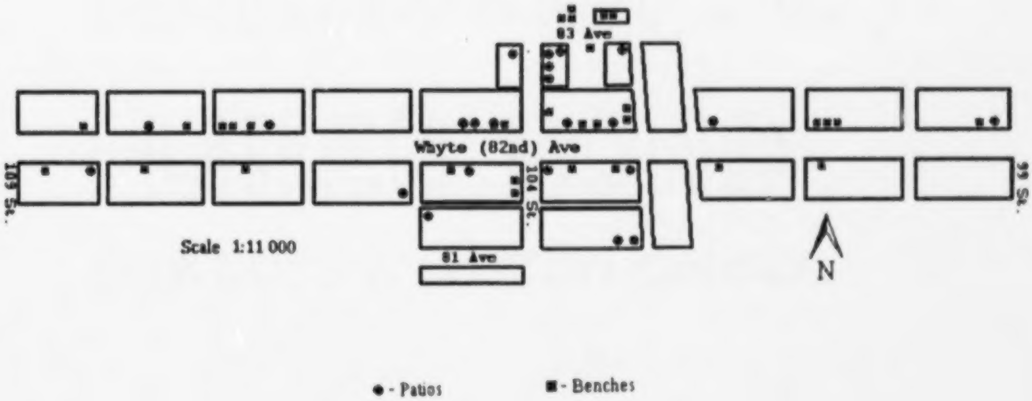

83 Ave
Whyte (82nd) Ave
109 St.
104 St.
99 St.
Scale 1:11 000
81 Ave
N
● - Patios
■ - Benches

Figure 3.5: Locations of Patios and Benches on Whyte.

Merchants and streetscape improvements have installed many benches for pedestrians, providing places to sit with an orientation to the street (Figures 3.5 and 3.6) and posterboards are also provided by merchants and by streetscape improvements (Figure 3.7), adding to the pedestrian appeal. As well, several bicycle racks on each block were installed in September 1994 to meet the escalating demand for bicycle parking in the area. In addition, the Gazebo park area supplies a large amount of benches and open space for anyone to utilise. The park has become a popular congregation area for youths and a location for many festivals and rallies.

At the same time that pedestrians and bicyclists are being catered to, automobile amenities are diminished. Figure 3.8 shows that parking areas in front of stores are few and far between. As well, parking is severely restricted in the surrounding residential neighbourhoods, adding to the parking problem. Metered parallel parking is available on most streets (except between 105th and 103rd Streets on the south side), but this allocation is extremely small given the expanding number of shops and shoppers in the area.

Results

The lack of parking facilities for automobiles, and the provision for pedestrians and bicyclists, encourages more walking in the area. Lack of convenient parking forces auto-based shoppers to walk the area (from their parking space to their desired location). In addition, the amenities available to pedestrians and bicyclists in the form of benches, patios, open spaces and the like, make the area more pedestrian friendly, thereby encouraging street-life and vitality. As well, the use of historic themes, through the preservation of landmarks and themes in place naming, give the area a liminal quality to its historic past, as well as an "international" feel.

124TH STREET

The 124th Street study area is composed primarily of the commercial portion of 124th Street extending from Jasper Avenue to 109th Avenue. In addition, the northern side of Jasper Avenue from 123rd Street was included as well as a two block section of 102 Avenue, from 124th Street to 126th Street (see Figure 3.9). Boundaries were selected on the basis of a previous study of the commercial ribbon (City of Edmonton, 1973) and observed functional boundaries. The area is traversed by several major roadways including 103rd Avenue, Stony Plain Road, and 107th Avenue.

Historical Development and Revitalisation

The 124th Street area was developed in the early 1900's as a residential area. Its commercial catalyst came in the form of streetcar lines which were built on 124th Street during World War One. Major commercial development occurred between 1950 and 1961, and then again between 1961 and 1973, when the number of

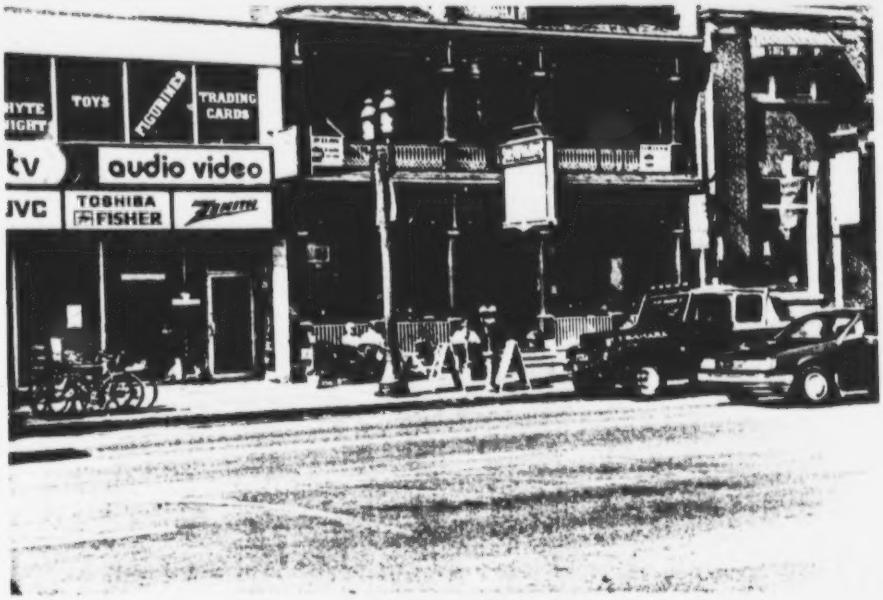

TOYS
FIGURINES
TRADING CARDS
tv
audio video
JVC
TOSHIBA
FISHER
ZENITH

Figure 3.6: Cafe Mosaics Patio.

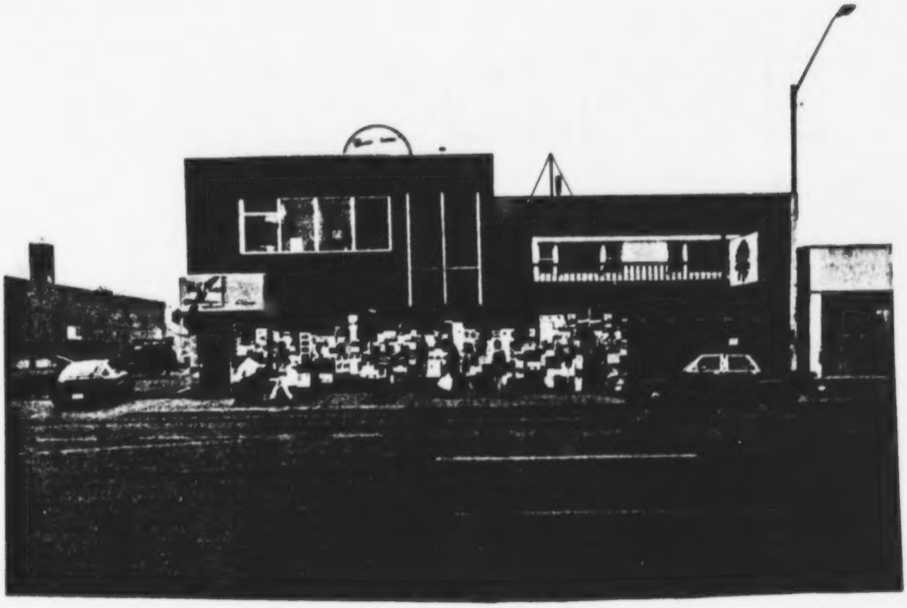


Figure 3.7: Postering on Whyte Avenue.

commercial activities on the street increased fivefold (Carter, 1974). It was during this time that 124th Street developed a functional character based on furniture stores, professional, business, and finance establishments, and a large number of multi-story office buildings were constructed (Carter, 1974; City of Edmonton, 1973).

The recent development history of 124th Street begins with the 124th Street and Area Business Association in 1987. Streetscape improvements were started in the two northernmost blocks of the study area in 1990, and resulted in brick side walks and decorated lampposts (Figure 3.10). Streetscape improvements in the rest of the area are currently (summer, 1995) taking place.

Landmarks and Historic Buildings

The 124th Street study area possesses two historic buildings within its boundaries, the Buena Vista Building and the Glenora Confectionary (now Lorre's Barber Shop) as shown in Figure 3.11. Both buildings were built between 1910 and 1920.

The area also has a number of high rise buildings that make a large visual impact, including the 124th Street Plaza, Parkington Place, and a number of high-rise apartments along Jasper Avenue (see Figure 3.12). Because of the north-south orientation of the street, the height of the buildings does not block sunlight on the side walk.

Business Places

The landscape of 124th Street is much more auto-oriented than Whyte Avenue. The style of buildings, lack of pedestrian facilities, and provision for automobiles makes the area less pleasant for pedestrians and encourages auto-based shopping.

Jane Jacobs, in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, makes mention of the fact that short blocks and many store entrances contributes to vitality and the pedestrian experience by providing a variety of opportunities and visual stimulation. On 124th Street, there are several sections (most notably in the section between Stony Plain Road and 107th Avenue) which are dominated visually by large buildings that have only one street level entrance, creating a pedestrian environment more conducive to ennui than a pleasant shopping experience (see Figure 3.13).

Other than the revitalised area of 107th to 109th Avenue and the High Street area, side walk conditions are poor and narrow leading to a dirty and unpleasant visual experience for pedestrians (Figure 3.14). As well, there is a marked lack of benches provided for pedestrians.

The 124th Street area is much more car-friendly than Whyte Avenue. Parking areas in front of businesses are more common (shown in Figure 3.15) and there are more liberal parking restrictions on side streets. Metered parallel parking is available throughout 124th Street itself, other than on weekday rush-hours, and free angled parking is available on some side streets. The result is a large amount of parking space relative to the number of customers that can be seen in the area.

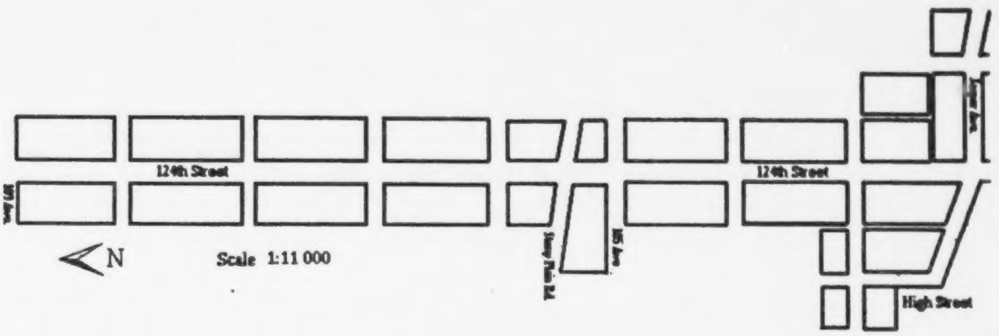
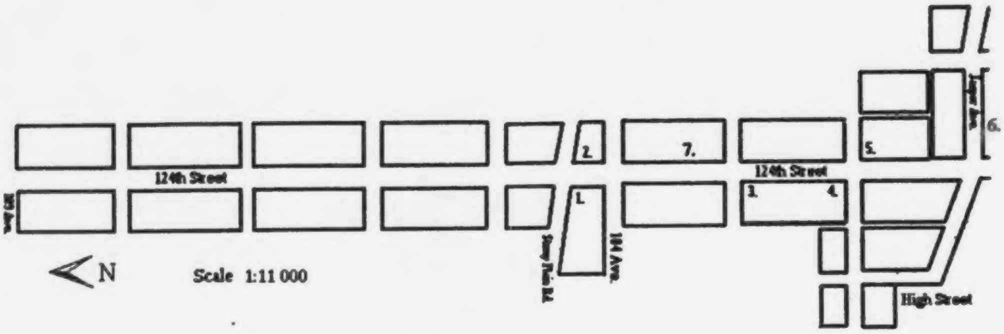

124th Street
124th Street
N
Scale 1:11 000
Stony Plain Rd.
High Street

Figure 3.9: The 124th Street Study Area.

Figure 3.10: Streetscape Improvements on 124th Street.


124th Street
124th Street
N
Scale 1:11 000
Stony Plain Rd.
104 Ave.
High Street
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.

1. Parkington Plaza (five story office)
2. Werstern Bldg. (seven story office)
3. Guardian Bldg. (seven story office)
4. Plaza 124 (seven story office)
5. Buena Vista Bldg. (1912 three story)
6. Several High Rise Apartment Bldgs.
7. Lorres' Barber Shop

Figure 3.11: Landmarks and Historic Buildings on 124th Street.

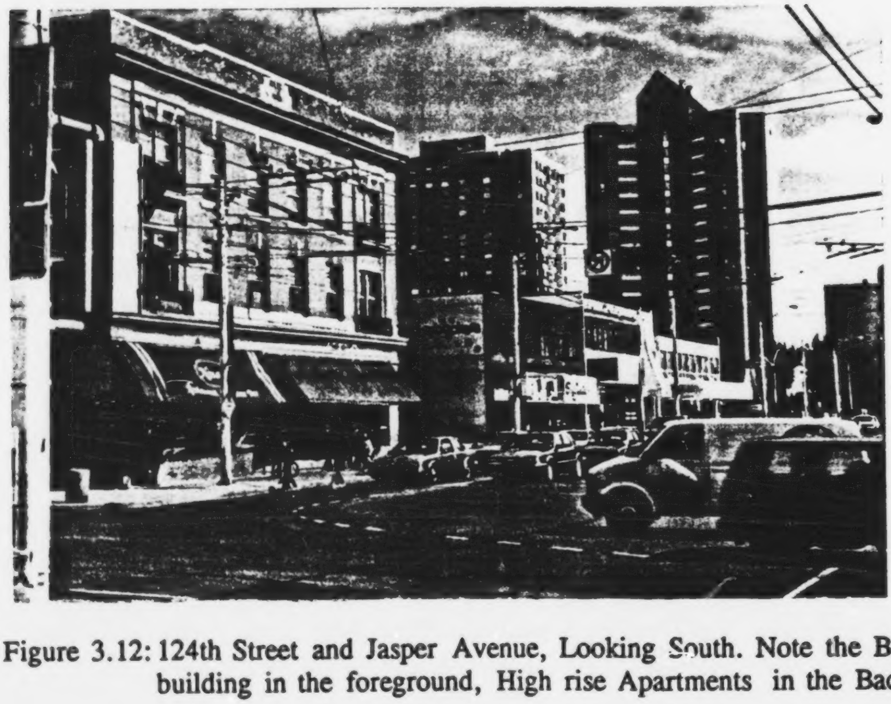


Figure 3.12: 124th Street and Jasper Avenue, Looking South. Note the Buena Vista building in the foreground, High rise Apartments in the Background.

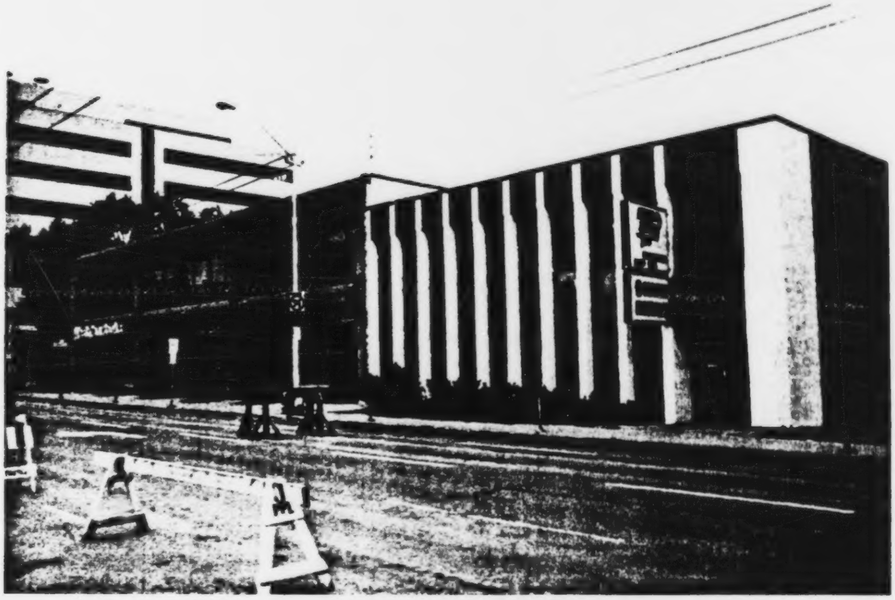


Figure 3.13: Large Buildings on 124th Street.

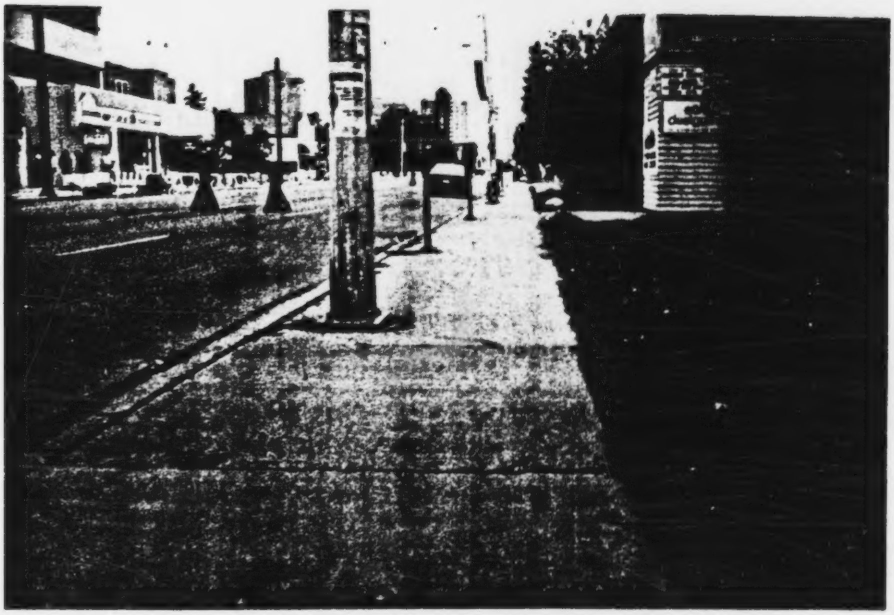


Figure 3.14: Poor Sidewalks on 124th Street.

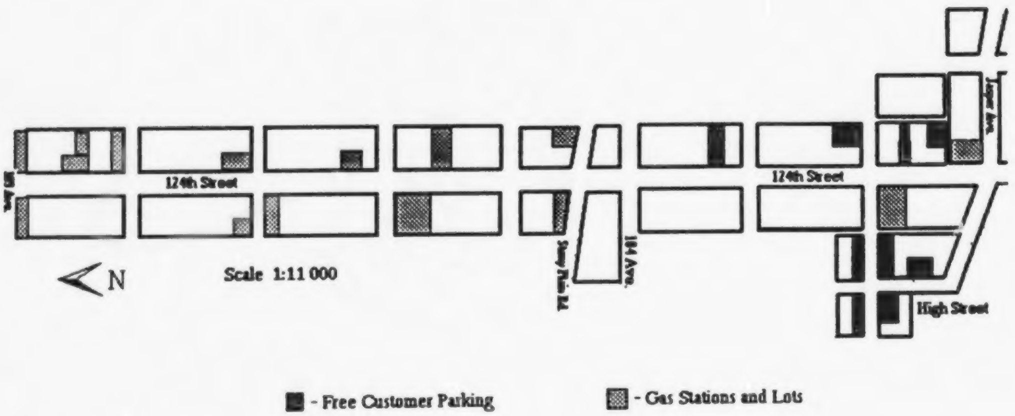

124th Street
124th Street
Jasper Ave.
Stony Plain Rd.
104 Ave.
High Street
N
Scale 1:11 000
■ - Free Customer Parking
▨ - Gas Stations and Lots

Figure 3.15: Free Parking in the 124th Street Area.

Results

The overall result of the landscape is to discourage street life, and pedestrian shoppers. The ample parking space in front or near most stores and businesses encourages more auto-based "one stop" shopping, as shoppers can access their desired stores easily without having to walk very far. The unfriendly pedestrian environment encourages this trend. In addition, the lack of any unified character in terms of place names, historical or cultural images, leaves the area with little to contribute to a strong sense of place.

97TH STREET AND AREA

The 97th Street study area is the least linear of the three areas under study. The area consists of the continuous commercial strip of 97th Street from the 105th Avenue railway overpass to 108th Avenue on the East side of 97th Street (see Figure 3.16). Based on observed functional boundaries, the area also includes the commercial developments between 97th Street and 100th Street (which is a mixed-use area) and includes the retail developments of Asia Square, Shun Fat Market, Far East Centre, and the Mai King Marketplace.

Historical Development and Revitalisation

The 97th Street study area began to develop as an East Asian commercial strip after 1980. Previous to that, according to Hendersons' Directory, the area had only a few commercial businesses as an extension of the commercial strip a few blocks to the south. Many of these businesses had Ukrainian, Polish, and Italian names. Most of what is now the study area consisted of walk-up apartments and single-detached homes.

New East Asian oriented retail development started in the early 1980's in response to redevelopment of the old Chinatown (largely destroyed by the development of Canada Place) while its formal replacement was still in the planning stages. Merchants were attracted to the new area by its low rents, available space, and proximity to old Chinatown (Lei, 1988 pp.156). Starting in the late 1980's and early 1990's, new shopping plazas have been developed to the west of 97th Street, between it and 101st Street. Four new retail structures have been developed resulting in the gradual infilling of the blighted mixed-use area (Figure 3.17).

The Avenue of Nations Business Association includes this area in its jurisdiction, although the principal focus of that organisation is 107th Avenue. Streetscape improvements conducted by the association have been minimal thus far, and have amounted to a few decorated lampposts in the northernmost portion of the study area and the decoration of existing streetlights on the rest of 97th Street (see Figure 3.18).

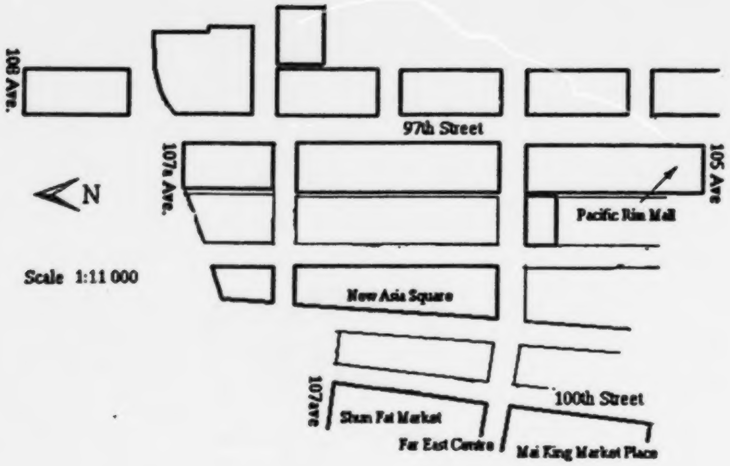

108 Ave.
97th Street
107a Ave.
105 Ave
N
Scale 1:11 000
Pacific Rim Mall
New Asia Square
100th Street
107ave
Shun Fat Market
Far East Centre
Mai King Market Place

Figure 3.16: The 97th Street Study Area.

Figure 3.17: Mixed Uses on 98th Street.

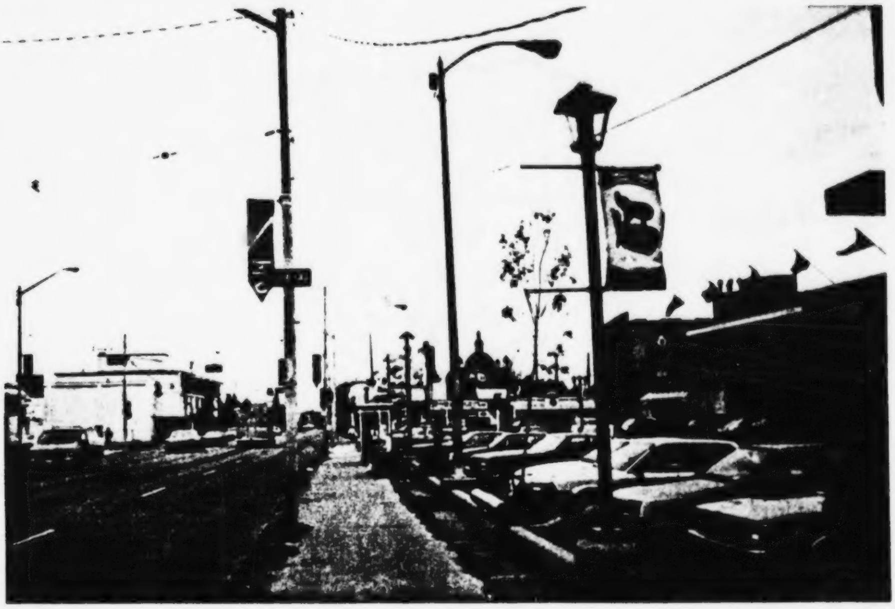


Figure 3.18: Streetscape Improvements on 97th Street.

Cultural Influences on the Landscape

Some cultural influences have made their impact on the landscape of 97th Street and its environs. East Asian culture expresses itself in this area in the names of the establishments, and the colours that figure prominently in the landscape.

The Chinese and Vietnamese store names which dominate the area are hardly surprising given the fact that the area is an East Asian commercial enclave. All except two of the businesses in the area feature Chinese and Vietnamese script on their signs and often feature traditional "good luck" names (Dawson, 1991 pp.184) such as "Triple Happiness", "Nice Day Restaurant", and "Lucky 97 Market". Names that reference East Asia are also common, such as the "Hong Kong Bakery" and "Southeast Asia Herbalists".

According to Chinese culture, red is the colour of life, and yellow the "Earth, and the centre" (Tuan, 1974 pp.26). As a result, red and yellow dominate many storefronts in the area. In this case (as in most Chinatowns) this is a landscape where red is very prominent in many areas, as is shown in Figure 3.19.

A Transitional Landscape

In terms of its landscape as a commercial area, the 97th Street study area is dominated by three features: a lack of parking and pedestrian amenities; blighted areas; and a particular architectural character. These features can be seen as the result of the area's present transitional nature, in which single-detatched housing, industrial uses, and community services are mixed, and slowly being replaced by a growing amount of retail uses.

In its transition from a residential/industrial area to a shopping space, the area has developed a rather noticeable parking problem. There is currently a dearth of parking on 97th Street itself, and in much of the surrounding area. Metered and time-regulated parking occurs in some areas of 98th and 99th Streets, however the supply is grossly inefficient during peak hours when parking spaces are rare. Auto-based shoppers often have to park blocks away from where they intend to shop. In addition, the transitional nature of the area has led to an unpleasant environment for pedestrians. Mixed uses, small inadequate side walks, and lack of any pedestrian benches or other facilities are the result (see Figure 3.20).

The mixed uses between 97th Street and 101 Street have resulted in a rather segregated shopping environment. The principal shopping area of 97th Street is separated by two and one-half blocks from three new shopping plazas, Mei King Market Place, The Far East Centre, and the Shun Fat Market, with Asia Square sandwiched between these two retail nodes. Scattered around these shopping plazas are single-detached houses, auto repair and welding services, community services, and vacant lots typical of a blighted area. The result is a shopping environment that is somewhat inconvenient and unsightly (Figure 3.21).

Another feature resulting from the transitional nature of the area is its peculiar architectural character. Almost without exception, all newer development possesses

Figure 3.19: The Prominence of Red in Storefronts.

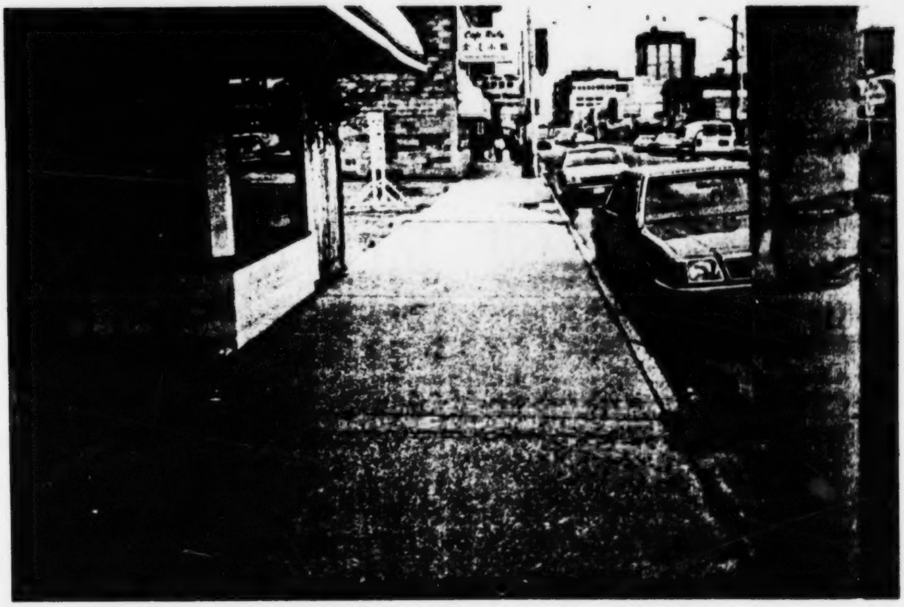


Figure 3.20: Poor Pedestrian Facilities.

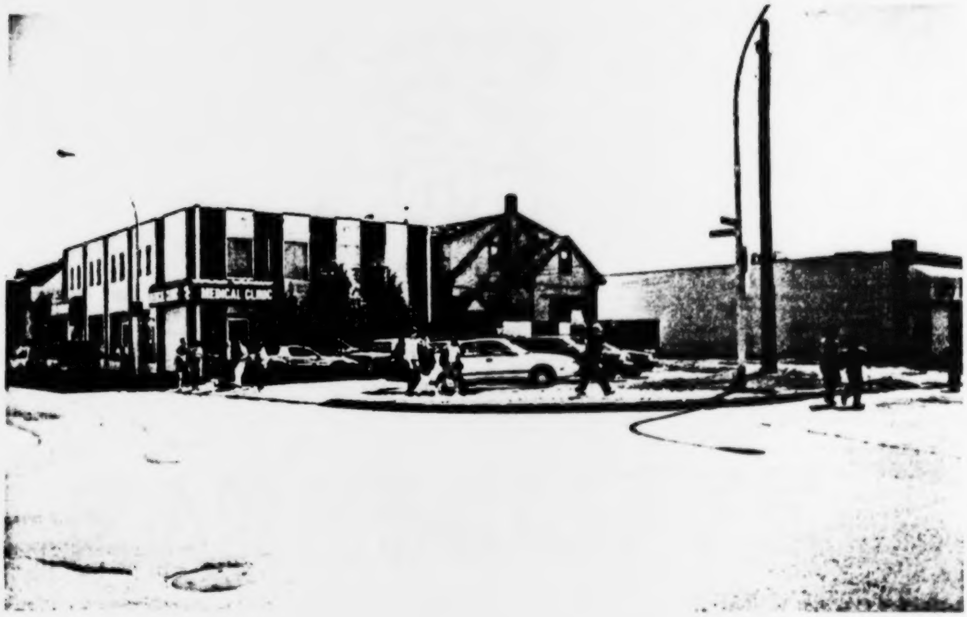

MEDICAL CLINIC

Figure 3.21: Unsightly Pedestrian Environment, 100th Street.

almost exactly the same (postmodern) architectural features. The most notable of these are false gable roof frontages, in which the gable over the main entrance is the largest, sometimes made into a clock tower (see Figure 3.22). This style occurs repeatedly on newer buildings and newly renovated store frontages, giving the area a unified, if somewhat peculiar, architectural style.

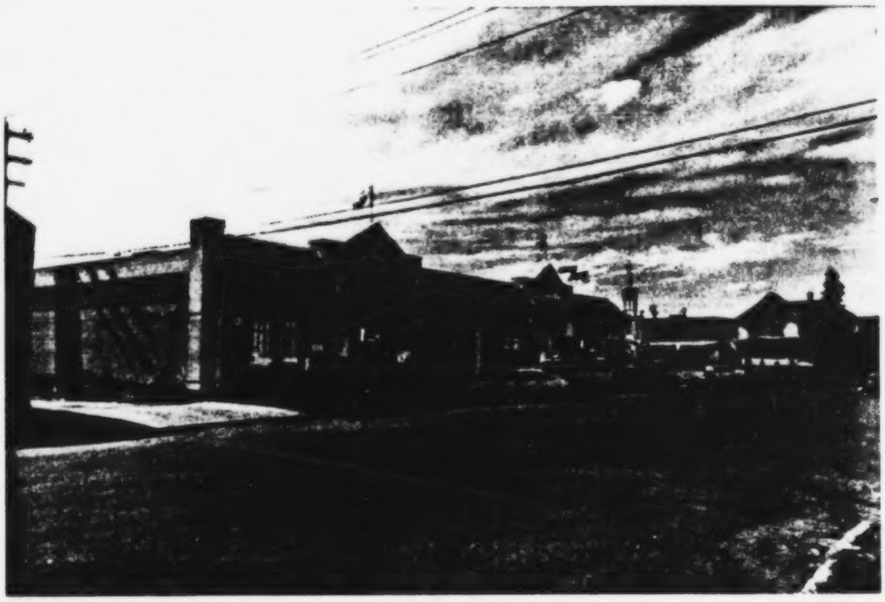
Results

Overall, the transitional nature of the area results in a shopping environment which is somewhat inconvenient. People are forced to walk throughout the area to get from their cars to their desired stores and back. This provides the area with many visible pedestrians, although they are certainly not catered to or encouraged by amenities in the way they are on Whyte Avenue. However, the architectural character in building style, colours, and signs creates an East Asian liminal space and unique shopping area and style that appeals to its patrons and reflects their heritage. One may conclude that the draw of these cultural preferences has outweighed the lack of physical amenities.

SUMMARY

What has been found in this chapter, relative to the physical environment of each study area, is that each encourages a sense of place, pedestrian traffic, and vitality to different degrees. The Whyte Avenue area provides a sense of place by possessing liminality in several historic buildings, and identifiable themes in place names. At the same time, inconvenient parking and a plethora of pedestrian amenities encourage people in the area to walk, sit, and use the area as a leisure and social space. The 97th Street study area has many physical features which make the area unique, and thereby encourage a sense of place. These include East Asian place names and signage, prominent use of the colour red on store fronts, and a somewhat unified architectural character. Like Whyte Avenue, lack of parking on 97th Street creates more pedestrians; however, an unpleasant pedestrian environment does not encourage vitality to the same degree as on Whyte Avenue. The landscape of 124th Street is less conducive to imbuing a sense of place or creating vitality. While there is a small amount of historic attractions and a varied streetscape, there are few physical features that give the area a "culture" or a unique feel. As a result, the environment contributes little to a sense of place. In addition, the area serves automobiles better than pedestrians. One-stop shopping is made easy with convenient parking in most areas. A lack of pedestrian facilities and imposing buildings discourage any street life.

A)



B)

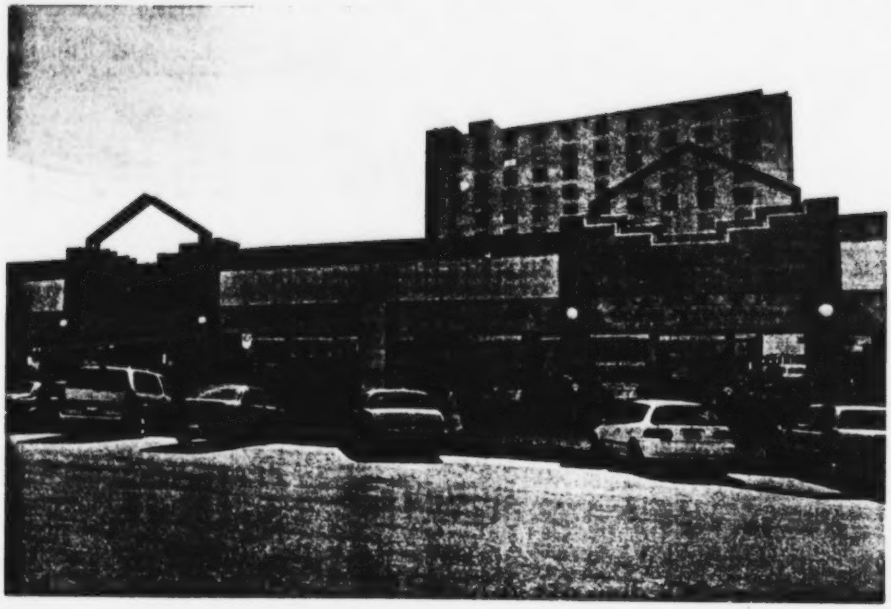


Figure 3.22A & B: Common Architectural Features in Newer Buildings. Note the Rooflines of Buildings.

CHAPTER FOUR
USER POPULATION

OBJECTIVE

In the introduction, one element of urban change proposed in the Background was trends of increasing urban fragmentation in inner-city areas on the basis of lifestyle and ethnicity. It is argued that consumption sites are increasingly becoming activity spaces for distinct social groups. This chapter intends to prove that point in the three study areas.

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to establish how each of these areas appeals to and is used by fundamentally different groups of people, and the characteristics of these groups. This will then be related to a typology of the three study areas on the basis of the people who utilise them. The characterisations discussed are intentionally broad and this chapter does not intend to stereotype unique individuals into rigid statistical clusters. Instead, the "groups" discussed are based on general trends seen in cross-tabulations of age, income, sex, and family structure. From this, associations are made with further data trends on occupation, hobbies, movie viewership, and magazine readership which vary in each study area [11], much in the same way that many retailing companies often use psychographic market profiles based on stereotypes (Mowen, 1990). This will then provide the basis in the next chapters for relating characteristics of each user population to the built environment, retail structure, and function of each shopping area.

Traditionally, in social area analysis and factorial ecology, factors such as age, sex, income, occupation, and family structure have been used to measure social differentiation (Herbert and Johnston, 1978). This chapter will use similar variables because not only do they play a role in social differentiation, but such variables heavily influence lifestyle, and therefore patterns of consumption (Bocock, 1993). In addition, recent studies of lifestyle (Bourdieu, 1984; Featherstone, 1987) and shopping (Verbeke, 1990) have concentrated more on measurements of personal taste and leisure pursuits as part of group identity. These include preferences in such things as food, cars, clothes, drink, novels, newspapers, magazines, holidays, and hobbies (Featherstone, 1987). In this study, three measurements of personal tastes will be examined in the user population sample. These variables are hobbies, magazines read or subscribed to, and movies seen.

This chapter will consist of three sections. The first section will explain the methods used in data collection and analysis for the chapter. The second will summarise the demographic and "personality" data and discuss the prominent or "typical" features of local and user population groups in each study area. This includes suggestions as to the home, work, and occupation tendencies of each group inferred from the data provided.

Table 4.1 shows that locals [12] form a majority of the user population only in the 124th Street area. Therefore, the main focus of this chapter will be on the user population, the "kind" of people attracted by each shopping area, and how the demographics of the user population relate to the demographics of the local population. The third section will summarise the findings of the previous section, compare user groups between study areas and discuss these groupings in reference to the Values and Lifestyles (VALS) psychographic typology (Mitchell, 1984) and another by Bourdieu (1984).

Table 4.1: Structure of User Populations (in per cent).

	Whyte Ave.		124th St.		97th St.
User Origin	Cust	Peds	Cust	Peds	Peds
Locals	34.8	48.9	60.4	51.2	26.4
Cosmopolitans	53.0	28.9	27.1	36.6	67.9
Metropolitans	10.6	6.7	12.5	4.9	1.9
Tourists	1.5	15.6	0	7.3	3.8

Source: 1994 field survey.

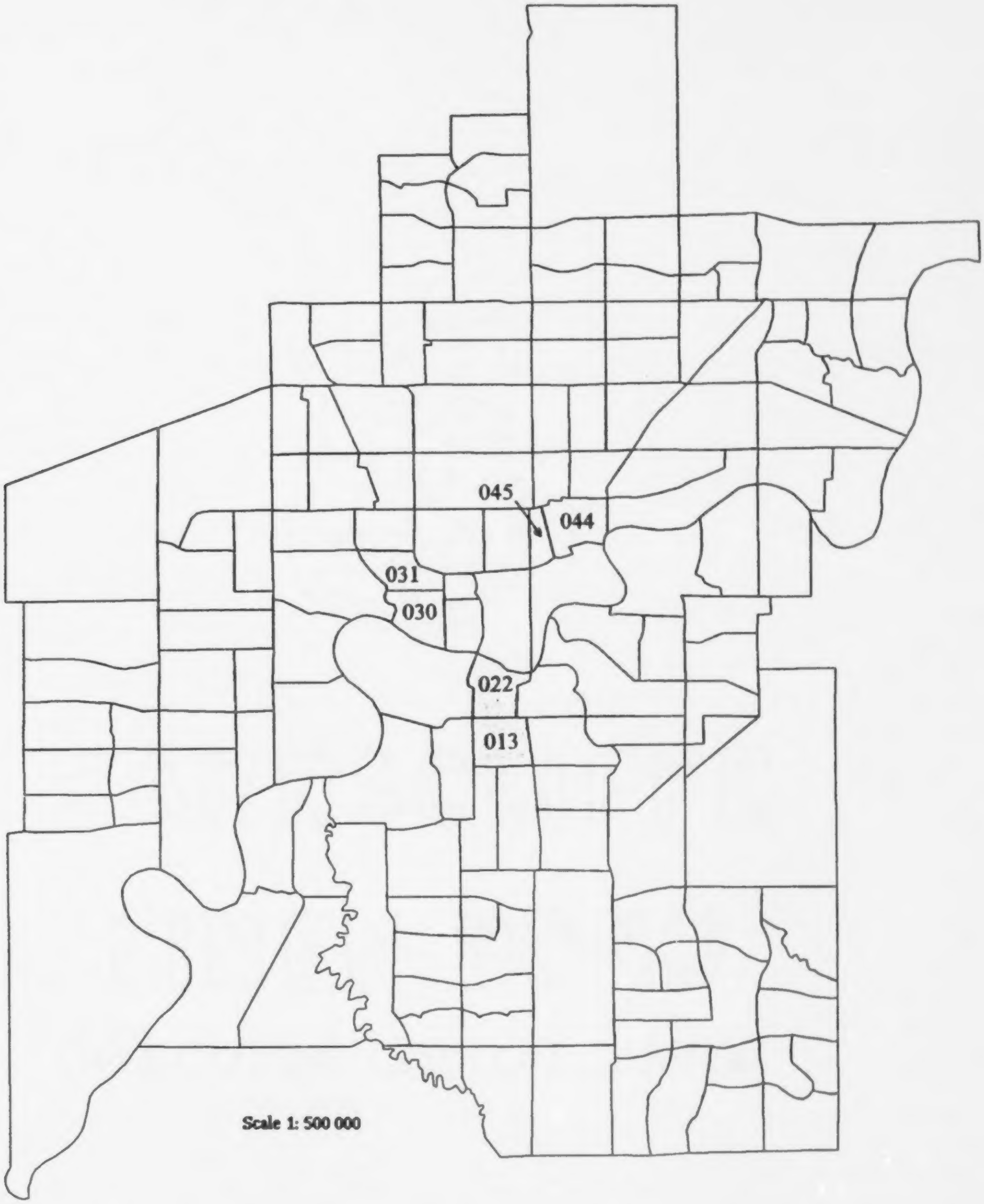
METHODS

This section will discuss the sources and methods of data collection and analysis for local and user populations to be used in the following discussion.

Sources of Local Population Data

The local population for a shopping area can be considered to be those living within one and one half miles of the area. This is the range that people would be willing to travel to purchase convenience goods (Maas, 1984). With this in mind, it was felt that the two census tracts surrounding each study area would provide a reasonably accurate population from which to examine the local population (see Figure 4.1). As a result, all local population statistics are provided by the Census of Canada (1991).

Use of the census creates one problem in the discussion of the local population. Since census tract information cannot be cross-tabulated (with the exception of age/sex cross-tabulations), much of the group characteristics discussed in the next section are inferred (or suggested) from the single variable tables resulting from census information.


045
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Scale 1: 500 000

Figure 4.1: Study Area Census Tracts.

Sources of User Population Data

The user population consists of those shoppers, purchasers, browsers, and loiterers in each area in any given time. Consequently, data for the user population mostly relies upon a major questionnaire administered by the author in the month of August, 1994. In particular, the third page (questions twelve to twenty-eight) of this questionnaire dealt with demographic and personality aspects of the user population discussed in this chapter (see Appendix 1).

As mentioned in chapter one, there were two versions of the same questionnaire developed: a self-administered version which was placed in several stores in each study area[13], and an interviewer version which was administered to pedestrians during peak pedestrian hours in each study area. These two approaches were used in order to minimise bias (interviewer bias in the case of only using pedestrian responses, and population bias in the case of customer responses) and maximise the number of responses.

As a supplement to the questionnaire data on age, sex, ethnicity, observational data on those aspects of the user population, are also included in this chapter. This data was collected in the month of July, 1994, by setting up a number of observation "stations" (see Appendix 1) in which, for a ten minute period, demographic data such as age, sex, and ethnicity or social group, were estimated and tallied. Although dates and times were noted as an important factor in other sections of the thesis, this chapter focuses on the user population as a whole.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL GROUPINGS

This section will describe the dominant demographic and social groupings in terms of what has been revealed by the data and cross-tabulations. Local and user populations for each study area will be discussed separately in order to provide room for comparison.

Whyte Avenue Local Population

The local population is a young adult population. Almost forty percent are between the ages of twenty and thirty and almost sixty percent of these are female (Table 4.2). They have relatively low incomes, making under $20,000 a year (Table 4.3), probably in entry level positions of the professions of engineering, teaching, health, and social sciences (see Table 4.4). Others are university students who earn low incomes in part-time and summertime incomes while going to school. Table 4.5 shows the vast majority of this group is single and childless.

An older group between thirty and forty-five years is also noticeable in the local area. This group is predominantly male, higher income, and is usually employed in higher level professions similar to those above. In this group marriage is more common, although children are still relatively rare in comparison to the average married couple in Edmonton (Table 4.5).

Table 4.2: Age/Sex Cross-tabulations of Local Populations (per cent).

Age Group

Area	<20 F|M	20-29 F|M	30-44 F|M	45-59 F|M	60+ F|M
Edmonton	14.5|15.2	9.0|8.8	13.2|13.5	6.9|7.0	6.7|5.4
Whyte	4.9|4.8	20.6|17.6	13.3|15.0	4.5|4.1	9.8|5.5
124th	4.9|4.8	14.2|12.4	11.7|12.5	7.1|6.3	17.0|9.4
97th	8.6|9.3	11.1|14.9	10.0|15.7	5.8|8.7	7.9|8.1

Source: Census of Canada, 1991.

Table 4.3: Yearly Income of Local Populations (per cent)

Dollars in Thousands

Income Area	Under 10000	10000-19999	20000-29999	30000-39999	40000-49999	50000 &Over
Edmonton	26.1	24.1	18.4	13.2	8.3	9.9
Whyte	25.5	28.8	18.8	13.6	6.3	6.5
124th	22.9	30.3	18.4	11.3	6.8	9.9
97th	37.7	30.0	16.1	7.7	3.7	4.5

Source: Census of Canada, 1991.

Table 4.4: Occupations of Local Population Workers (per cent).

Occupation Area	Professional & Administrative	Arts, Literature, & recreational	Services & Clerical	Labour & Trades
Edmonton	28.4	1.6	43.6	15.3
Whyte	44.4	3.3	37.0	8.5
124th	32.0	3.2	47.7	9.3
97th	19.0	1.0	48.3	19.4

Source: Census of Canada, 1991.

Table 4.5, Local Population Family Characteristics (per cent).

Status	Whyte Ave	124th St	97th St	Edmonton
Married	25.6	25.8	26.1	52.3
Married w/ Child.	7.7	6.4	12.9	33.6
Single	49.9	42.4	42.6	24.3
Single w/ Child.	2.4	3.5	4.8	4.8
Cohabiting	8.2	8.4	7.3	6.0
Cohabiting w/ Child	1.0	1.1	1.8	2.3

Source: Census of Canada, 1991.

Whyte Avenue User Population

While the local population is decidedly young, the user population is even more so. Tables 4.6, 4.7 and 4.11 show that young adults, and in particular females, account for the largest proportion of persons walking and shopping on Whyte Avenue, especially during the weekdays. This population is quite poor (in fact, poorer than the local population) and often earn under $10,000 a year (Table 4.6 and 4.7). This is due, most likely, to the fact that many are full-time students, and/or work in retail, clerical and service occupations for little money (see Table 4.8). As they are young and poor, there are very few married people in this group. Consequently, the group of single, childless, young adults accounts for almost half of the total user population on Whyte Avenue, as shown by Tables 4.9 and 4.10.

Table 4.6: Age/Income/Sex Cross-tabulations of Whyte Avenue Customer Surveys.
Yearly Income (Dollars in Thousands)

Age	<10 F|M	10-20 F|M	20-30 F|M	30-40 F|M	40-50 F|M	50+ F|M	total F|M
<18	3|3						3|3
18-30	10|5	6|1	3|3	2|2		1|3	22|12
31-45		1|1	1|2	4|2	0|3	1|2	7|10
46-60			1|0			0|1	1|1
61+		1|0				0|1	1|1
total	13|8	8|2	5|5	6|2	0|3	2|7	34|27

Source: 1994 field survey.

Table 4.7: Age/Income/Sex Cross-tabulations of Whyte Avenue Pedestrian Surveys.
Yearly Income (Dollars in Thousands)

Age	<10 F|M	10-20 F|M	20-30 F|M	30-40 F|M	40-50 F|M	50+ F|M	total F|M
<18	1|2						1|2
18-30	8|4	2|4	2|4	1|0			13|12
31-45	0|1	0|1	1|1	1|0	0|1	1|3	3|7
46-60				1|0	0|2		1|2
61+		1|1	1|1				2|1
total	9|7	3|5	4|6	3|0	0|3	1|3	20|24

Table 4.8: Occupations of Customer and Pedestrian Workers (per cent).

	Whyte Ave.		124th St.		97 St.
Occupational Group	Cust	Peds	Cust	Peds	Peds
Professional & Admin	27.3	22.2	38.3	28.2	13.6
Arts, Lit & Rec	3.0	4.4	14.8	5.1	0
Service & Clerical	25.8	6.7	8.5	15.4	28.8
Labour & Trades	6.1	8.9	2.1	7.7	5.1
Students	24.2	37.8	17.0	15.4	35.6

Table 4.9: Age/Status/Children Cross-tabulations of Whyte Avenue Customer Surveys.

Status Age	Married None|Child	Single None|Child	Cohabiting None|Child	total None|Child
<18		6 | 0		6 | 0
18-30	2 | 0	29| 1	4 | 0	35| 1
31-45	2 | 5	5 | 4	2 | 1	9 |10
46-60	0 | 4	1 | 0		1 | 4
60+	0 | 1			0 | 2
total	4 |10	41| 6	6 | 1	51 | 17

Table 4.10: Age/Status/Income Cross-tabulations of Whyte Avenue Pedestrian Surveys.

Status Age	Married None | Child	Single None | Child	Cohabiting None | Child	total None | Child
<18		3 | 0		3 | 0
18-30	2 | 1	19| 2	1 | 0	22| 3
31-45	1 | 4	4 | 2		5 | 6
46-60	0 | 2	1 | 0		1 | 2
60+	0 | 2	0 | 2		0 | 4
total	3 | 9	27| 6	1 | 0	31 | 15

Source: 1994 field survey.

A second group in the user population is more prominent on Whyte Avenue during the weekends (see Table 4.11). This group is older (between thirty-one and forty-five) and more often male. Generally, this group is wealthier, usually making over $30,000, and often more than $40,000 a year. It is likely that this group is responsible for the one in four professional occupations among the user population. In this group, married couples are more frequent, although roughly half are not, and children are fairly common among those who are married. Even if children are present, this group tends to have a high disposable income due to good jobs, and two incomes.

Table 4.11: Age/Sex Cross-tabulation of Observed Whyte Avenue User Population (per cent).

Sex/Time Age	<18	18-30	31-45	46-60	61+
Male total	7.6	21.8	15.3	6.3	1.3
Female total	8.2	18.7	13.8	5.2	1.4
Male weekday	7.3	17.9	13.5	5.4	3.3
Female weekday	7.8	19.4	15.1	6.0	3.6
Male weekend	5.5	17.5	19.7	7.0	0.9
Female weekend	6.2	17.2	19.1	5.5	1.4

Source: 1994 field survey.

Certain patterns can be noticed in the interests of the user population. Table 4.12 indicates that many participate in the Arts (especially popular are reading and music). As well, a higher amount than in the other two study areas enjoy "consumption" type activities that involve being in large groups of people (such as shopping, going to movies, dining, and "hanging out")[14]. Magazine selection (Table 4.13) very much supports these findings in the high rankings among the user population of Fashion, Pop, Music, Art, and Outdoor magazines such as "Spin", "Rolling Stone", "Vogue", "People", and "Cycling".Conversely, Business and Family & Home magazines rated low, reflecting little interest in those subjects among the user population. Movies tend to be another popular pastime, with more than eighty per cent seeing a movie recently (Table 4.14). As well as mainstream Hollywood movies, they tend to attend more art and classic films than in the other areas.

As a result, the interests of the user population of Whyte Avenue tend to concentrate more on activities that can be considered social events, and are comparatively less likely to be home or work oriented.

Table 4.12: Hobbies Mentioned By Customers and Pedestrians Categorised By Group (percentages in Parenthesis)

	Whyte Ave.		124th St.		97th St.
Hobby Type	Cust	Peds	Cust	Peds	Peds
Arts	49 (42)	48 (31)	32 (33)	55 (46)	28 (20)
Sports	15 (13)	22 (14)	15 (15)	21 (18)	43 (31)
Outdoors	16 (14)	27 (17)	22 (23)	24 (20)	13 (9)
Consumption	15 (13)	20 (13)	7 (7)	4 (3)	17 (12)
Home	10 (9)	23 (15)	18 (19)	10 (8)	15 (11)
Other	13 (11)	17 (11)	3 (3)	5 (4)	23 (17)

Source: 1994 field survey.

One Hundred Twenty-Fourth Street Local Population

Those living in this area are more likely to be in one of two groups that dominate the local population. The first group is a young adult group, predominantly female (see Table 4.2). This group likely accounts for the high incidence of clerical and service occupations in the local population (Table 4.7) and probably work in the offices and retail outlets of nearby downtown. The result is a large group of people who earn between $10,000 and $20,000 a year (Table 4.3). In this group, marriage is less frequent and children rare (Table 4.5).

Table 4.13: Most Popular Magazine Types by Area (Per cent of total listing Magazines in Parenthesis)[15].

Whyte Avenue Customers

1. Newspapers (17.1)
2. Fashion (15.2)
2. Pop (15.2)
3. Music (10.1)
4. Art (9.1)
5. Outdoor (7.1)

Whyte Avenue Pedestrians

1. Fashion (17.5)
2. Newspapers (17.1)
3. Music (11.1)
3. Pop (11.1)
4. Art (9.5)
5. Outdoor (7.9)
5. Science (7.9)

97th Street Pedestrians

1. Newspapers (29.1)
2. Foreign (21.8)
3. Other (12.7)
4. Pop (10.9)
5. Business (7.2)

124th Street Customers

1. Fashion (16.7)
2. Newspapers (13.6)
3. Music (19.6)
4. Political (9.1)
4. Pop (9.1)
4. Science (9.1)
5. Business (6.1)
5. Family, Home etc. (6.1)
5. Art (6.1)

124th Street Pedestrians

1. Newspapers (22.6)
2. Pop (19.3)
3. Family, Home etc. (14.9)
4. Science (14.3)
5. Fashion (11.2)
6. Business (4.8)

Source: 1994 field survey.

Table 4.14: Movie Types Recently Viewed by User Populations (of the Proportion Who Recently Viewed a Movie).

	Whyte Ave.		124th St.		97 St.
Movie Type	Cust	Peds	Cust	Peds	Peds
Mainstream	62.3	48.2	50.0	56.8	54.3
Mainstream (Rental)	13.0	17.2	25.9	24.3	11.4
Art & Classics	22.0	31.0	24.1	18.9	2.9
Foreign	2.6	3.5	0	0	31.4
No Movies	19.1	15.2	31.3	35.6	43.4
Number of Responses	77	58	54	37	35

The second major group consists of adults in the age range of thirty to forty-five. These people number slightly fewer than the younger group above and are slightly more likely to be male. It is reasonable to assume this group accounts for the high proportion of management, business, and administration workers that live in the local area and it is these people who account for the one in ten that earn over $50,000 a year. These people are more often married but being unmarried is not uncommon, and children certainly are still relatively rare in this group.

One Hundred Twenty-Fourth Street User Population

Tables 4.15, 4.16 and 4.19 show the user population is weighted toward one group. Often female, this group tends to be older than the Whyte Avenue population, usually between thirty-one and forty-five. Incomes tend to be higher than is the case in the local population (between $10,000 and $40,000 a year) and it is likely that this group represents the bulk of the professional and administrative occupations which dominate the user population of the area in Table 4.8. Tables 4.17 and 4.18 show that a slight majority in this group are married and the vast majority of these have children as well.

Table 4.15: Age/Income/Sex Cross-tabulations of 124th Street Customer Surveys.

Yearly Income (Dollars in Thousands)

Age	<10 F|M	10-20 F|M	20-30 F|M	30-40 F|M	40-50 F|M	50+ F|M	total F|M
<18	1|2						1|2
18-30	3|2	1|2	2|0	1|0	0|1		7|5
31-45	0|1	2|3	1|3	2|1		2|1	7|9
46-60			1|0	0|1		1|2	2|4
61+		0|1	1|1		1|0	1|1	3|1
total	4|6	3|5	5|3	3|2	1|1	4|4	20|21

Table 4.16, Age/Income/Sex Cross-tabulations of 124th Street Pedestrian Surveys.

Yearly Income (Dollars in Thousands)

Age	<10 F|M	10-20 F|M	20-30 F|M	30-40 F|M	40-50 F|M	50+ F|M	total F|M
<18							0
18-30	1|1	2|1	2|1	1|0			6|3
31-45	0|1	3|1	3|1	4|0	0|5	1|1	11|8
46-60	1|1				1|0	1|2	3|3
61+		0|1			0|2	1|1	1|4
total	2|3	5|3	5|2	5|0	1|6	3|4	21|18

Table 4.17: Age/Status/Children Cross-tabulations of 124th Street Customer Surveys.

Status Age	Married None|Child	Single None|Child	Cohabiting None|Child	total None|Child
<18		3 | 0		3 | 0
18-30		7 | 2	3 | 0	10| 2
31-45	2 | 9	6 | 2	1 | 0	9 |11
46-60	0 | 5	2 | 1		2 | 6
60+	0 | 2	2 | 1		2 | 3
total	2 |16	20 | 6	4 | 0	26 | 22

Source: 1994 field survey.

Table 4.18: Age/Status/Children Cross-tabulations of 124th Street Pedestrian Surveys.

Status Age	Married None|Child	Single None|Child	Cohabiting None|Child	total None|Child
<18				0 | 0
18-30	2 | 0	5 | 1	1 | 0	8 | 1
31-45	5 | 5	6 | 1	1 | 1	12| 7
46-60	0 | 4	2 | 1		2 | 5
60+	0 | 4	0 | 2		0 | 6
total	7 |13	13| 5	2 | 1	22 | 19

Source: 1994 field survey.

A second, smaller group which appears, is a population of young, largely female, adults aged eighteen to thirty. This group generally has low incomes (below $30,000 per year) and Table 4.8 suggests that their occupations are likely split between student, services and clerical work, and arts and recreation. The vast majority in this group is single, and children are rare. Members of this group tend to be more numerous in this area during the weekdays, as is shown in Table 4.19.

Table 4.19: Age/Sex Cross-tabulations of Observed 124th Street User Population (in Percent).

Sex/Time Age	<18	18-30	31-45	46-60	61+
Male total	5.8	16.8	18.6	8.7	2.1
Female total	4.4	13.1	17.1	11.2	3.5
Male weekday	6.0	14.7	16.2	7.8	4.3
Female weekday	4.1	13.4	15.4	11.1	6.8
Male weekend	5.3	11.0	16.4	10.7	1.6
Female weekend	5.8	12.0	18.4	15.2	4.8

Source: 1994 field survey.

Another group which is revealed in Tables 4.15 and 4.16 is an older group of men and women above the age of forty-five. This group is relatively small in number but is identifiable in the table by their large incomes. The vast majority of this group earns more than $50,000 a year and makes up the top half of the professional and administration occupational group that is prominent in this area. The majority of this group is married (although about 40% are still single) and most have children. Table 4.19 shows that members of this group use the area predominantly on the weekends.

Responses to interests and leisure questions, Table 4.12, show trends that differ from those given by the Whyte Avenue responses. In general these groups prefer hobbies involving artistic (particularly reading) and outdoor activities such as camping. As well, activities involving spectator sports and home based (sewing, gardening) activities are reasonably popular, while consumption type activities rated low. However, Table 4.13 on magazine selection does not entirely support these trends. In this case, Fashion, Pop, Science, Business, and Family, Home & Lifestyle magazines such as "Vogue", "People", "Popular Mechanics", "Fortune" and "Country Living" rank consistently high among both customers and pedestrians while Music, Political, and Art magazines rate high only in the customer surveys.

Trends in movie viewership (Table 4.14) tend to support the view that interests for this population are more home-based. Approximately one third of the respondents reported not seeing a movie recently (or at least failed to list any). Of those who did, a larger proportion than on Whyte Avenue viewed movies that were rented, not viewed in a theatre.

From this it is concluded in general that the user population in this area has more insular tendencies, that is, their leisure and social life are more concerned with home or private activities than activities that involve large groups of people in public places.

Ninety-Seventh Street Local Population

The local population in this area is weighted toward one age group between twenty and forty-four years, (Table 4.2). This area has predominantly male residents, although there are significant numbers of women in the twenty to twenty-nine year age group. Table 4.3 shows that, as a rule, the people in this area earn less than $20,000 a year. It can be surmised from the occupational data in Table 4.4 that these lower incomes result from employment in low level service occupations or in more labour oriented processing, fabricating, repair, and construction employment. Members of this group, according to Table 4.5, are generally not married, and children are relatively rare compared with the rest of the city, but are not uncommon.

A second group of people in this area is a group aged over sixty-five. The population is balanced between males and females and it is possible that many live in the several Chinese elders' mansions in the Old Chinatown area.

In this area there is a high rate of ethnicity which did not occur in the other areas [16]. Table 4.20 below shows that many of the people were born in other countries and speak languages other than English or French at home. Traditionally, the major ethnic groups have been Ukrainian, Polish, and Italian. However, in the last two decades, Chinese and Vietnamese are becoming the more common ethnic groups.

Table 4.20: Ethnicity in the 97th Street Local Population.

	First Language			Ethnicity					Citizenship	
Area	Non official	Chinese	Vietnamese	Italian	Polish	Ukrainian	Chinese	Vietnamese	Non citizen	Immigrant
Edm.	8.3	2.6	0.6	0.3	0.7	0.3	2.6	0.6	6.2	18.2
97th	26.7	13	3.0	2.3	3.0	1.2	15	4.2	14.6	36.3

Source: Census of Canada, 1991.

Ninety-Seventh Street User Population

The user population of this area is made up of two age groups with a common ethnicity. In this commercial area, well over half of the user population is East Asian, and almost half are not Canadian citizens (see Table 4.21). This proportion climbs to roughly seventy per cent on weekends. This is a dramatic rise in comparison with the ethnicity of both the local population (in which those with East Asian ethnicity count for less than one quarter) and with user populations in the other areas [17].

Table 4.22 shows the most numerous group in this area to be comprised of young adults (eighteen to thirty years old), of which more are male than female. This group tends to earn low incomes below $20,000 per year and Table 4.8 shows that these people are either students and/or work in low level services employment; this would account for their large grouping in the lowest income categories. In this group, marriage is very rare and children are extremely uncommon (Table 4.23).

Table 4.21: Ethnicity and Citizenship of User Population, 97th Street.

Ethnicity	%	Citizenship	%
Chinese	25.5[18]	China	17.5
Vietnamese	7.0	Hong Kong	15.8
Chinese/Can.	13.9	Vietnam	5.3
Other Oriental	7.0	Other Oriental	3.5
None/Canadian	37.2	Canada	56.1

Table 4.22: Age/Income/Sex Cross-tabulations of 97th Street Pedestrian Surveys.

Yearly Income (Dollars in Thousands)

Age	<10 F|M	10-20 F|M	20-30 F|M	30-40 F|M	40-50 F|M	50+ F|M	total F|M
<18	2|4		0|2				2|6
18-30	4|4	3|2	1|1				8|9
31-45	2|3	0|1	2|0	1|2	0|2	0|1	5|9
46-60	0|1	1|1	1|0		0|1		2|3
61+	0|2	1|0		0|1			1|3
total	8|16	5|4	4|3	1|3	0|3	0|1	18|30

Source: 1994 field survey.

Table 4.23: Age/Status/Children Cross-tabulations of 97th Street Pedestrian Surveys.

Status Age	Married None|Child	Single None|Child	Cohabiting None|Child	total None|Child
<18		8 | 0		8 | 0
18-30	1 | 1	18| 0		19| 1
31-45	1 |10	4 | 0		5 |10
46-60	0 | 5	1 | 0		1 | 5
60+	0 | 4			0 | 4
total	2 |20	31| 0	0 | 0	33 | 20

The second group is slightly less numerous than the first. This group is mostly made up of persons aged thirty to forty-five, and the majority are male. Financially, this group is of mixed income with a concentration in the lowest income category and concentrations in the middle categories between $20,000 and $50,000 a year. Occupational data from Table 4.8 suggests a mix as well and it is probable that this group is made up of a combination of low level service workers, professionals and businessmen. The majority of this group are married, and almost all of these have children. This pattern is consistent among the older population as well. Table 4.24 shows this group tends to be the most populous on the weekends when family shopping is more common.

Table 4.24: Age/Sex Cross-tabulations of Observed 97th Street User Population (per cent).

Sex/Time Age	<18	18-30	31-45	46-60	61+
Male total	6.8	19.1	20.7	8.0	1.9
Female total	5.3	15.1	14.4	7.4	2.3
Male weekday	7.3	11.5	14.4	8.7	3.2
Female weekday	7.1	16.9	17.4	9.5	3.7
Male weekend	9.6	14.0	14.3	10.0	2.5
Female weekend	7.1	14.5	16.9	10.8	4.2

Source: 1994 field survey.

Interests and hobby data from Table 4.12 show totally different results from those obtained from the other two areas. In this case, spectator sports activities (such as golf, basketball and swimming) are popular, likely due to the "maleness" of the population. Consumption activities are relatively popular as well and so are "other" activities that could not be grouped. Conversely, art and outdoor activities are unpopular in comparison with the other study areas.

The Hobbies and Interests category reflects the "ethnicity" of the user population in that magazines and movies (Tables 4.13 and 4.14) were generally not very popular. Those who did see movies or read magazines often watched foreign (mostly Chinese) productions. Persons surveyed were more likely either not to read magazines or to read only the newspaper. Those that did read periodicals often read foreign (mostly Chinese), business, and/or pop magazines.

SUMMARY AND TYPOLOGIES

From the data and observations in the previous section, it is possible to conclude that, in each shopping area there is a tendency for one or two distinct demographic and social groups to dominate the user population. This is usually the result of an exaggeration of a residential concentration of those groups in the surrounding neighbourhoods. In this section, characteristics of the dominant user groups for each area will be summarised, and related to Mitchell's (1984) psychographic Values and Lifestyle typology[19] in order to illustrate the differences between the groups in terms of needs and behaviour. These results are summarised in Figure 4.2 below. Where possible, these groups will also be related to occupational/class based structures and their lifestyle typologies developed by Bourdieu (1984).

Figure 4.2: User Population Groups as they Relate to Typologies.

VALS TYPOLOGIES	USER POPULATION GROUPS
Need-Driven Groups	
Survivor	
Sustainer	97th Street
Outer-Directed Groups	
Belongers	
Emulators	124th St young adults
Achievers	124th St older adults
Inner-Directed Groups	
I-Am-Mes	Whyte Ave young adults
Experientials	Both Whyte Ave groups
Societally-Conscious	Whyte Ave older adults

Whyte Avenue

In the case of Whyte Avenue, the population that uses the area is dominated by young single adults, working in service occupations or going to school, and possessing little income. What income they do have is spent on artistic and social pursuits such as music, movies, and fashion. The other, less prominent group is an older group between thirty and forty-five with higher incomes and professional and administrative employment. Members of this group are often married and have children.

In the Values and Lifestyles (VALS) typology of lifestyles (Mitchell, 1984), the user population of Whyte Avenue most closely resembles "Inner-Directed Groups", consisting of three lifestyles, the "I-Am-Me" lifestyle, the "Experiential" lifestyle, and the "Societally Conscious" lifestyle.

The "I-Am-Me" lifestyle is described as the tumultuous, flamboyant stage of young adulthood (average age is twenty-one). Cultural, social, and physically demanding activities are the preference of persons living the "I-Am-Me" lifestyle. This description fits the younger element of the Whyte Avenue user population in terms of their age, income, and interests.

The "Experiential" lifestyle applies to the older members of the young-adult group (late twenties is average) and is considered the next stage after the "I-Am-Me" lifestyle. According to the VALS typology, persons in this group are well educated technicians and professionals earning moderate incomes who enjoy strenuous outdoor activities, cultural activities, and the arts. Elements of this lifestyle can be seen in both major user groups on Whyte Avenue in terms of occupation, income, age, and interests.

The "Societally-Conscious" lifestyle comes closest to typifying the secondary user group in the Whyte Avenue area. The VALS typology describes this group as a "well-educated, prosperous, politically liberal group driven by social ideals" with an average age of almost forty. They tend to work in professional or technical employment (Mitchell p.22). While the questionnaire did not delve into the politics of the respondents, many of the other characteristics of this lifestyle typology fit with this secondary user group identified in the customer and pedestrian surveys.

These inner-directed groups have much in common with Bourdieu's "New Petite Bourgeoisie". This class fraction is made up of persons in the "new"professions which provide symbolic goods and services[20] (media workers, art craftsmen, and the helping and healing professions) (Featherstone, 1987) and are a result of the increased availability of higher education. They are characterised by more expressive lifestyles based on style and image rather than work or material goods. Identifying more with intellectuals, they concentrate more on attaining cultural capital than economic capital and prefer the "fun ethic" to the "work ethic". The trends in consumption patterns (hobbies and interests involving art, fashion, music, and consumption activities) in the survey responses tend to support this claim.

One Hundred Twenty-Fourth Street

The 124th Street user population was found to consist mainly of three groups. The dominant group consisted of mature adults (aged thirty to forty-five) earning moderate to high incomes in administrative, clerical and professional employment. These people are often married, but tend not to have children. The second group consisted of older adults (over forty-five years old) with high incomes, and families with children, while the third group consisted of young single adults with moderate incomes in service and clerical occupations. Tastes and activities in this group tended to be more insular, focusing more on the arts, home and family life than on activities involving large groups of people in social spaces.

Generally, these groups can be considered "Outer-Directed Groups" in the VALS typology. These groups are more prosperous, materialistic, and family oriented (as evidenced in magazine selection in this area) and consist of three specific lifestyles; Belongers, Emulators, and Achievers.

The "Achievers" come closest to typifying the dominant group and the "older adult" groups in the user population of One Hundred Twenty-Fourth Street. This group can be described as ambitious, competitive, conservative, and successful. They earn the highest incomes of any lifestyle and occupations consist of a mix of professionals, successful artists, managers, administrators, and businesspeople. Their average age is in the early forties, although there is a wide spread. These types of trends were seen in the dominant user group in this area, especially in terms of income and age.

The young adult element of this area's user population is more difficult to typify. Their income, occupation, and age most closely resembles the "Emulator" lifestyle which is characterised by ambitious, materialistic persons of moderate income in technically trained employment with a median age of twenty-seven. According to the VALS typology, members of this group more often engage in conspicuous consumption of material goods and fashion.

These groups are somewhat similar in characteristics Bourdieu's Executant and Executant Petite Bourgeoisie classes. These fractions consist of business and commercial executives, junior executives, and clerical workers. Closer examination of census and questionnaire data showed that these occupations were much more frequent in this area than in any other study site[21]. These groups concentrate on gaining economic capital and identify more with the "work ethic" (as seen in the higher ranking of business magazines). They are less concerned with "style" and are more materialistic in acquiring luxury goods.

Ninety-Seventh Street

In the 97th Street user population two dominant groups occur. The first is a group of single young adults earning low incomes in low-level service occupations and as students. The second was an older group of married persons with children employed in a variety of occupations and earning a variety of incomes mostly on the low side. The important factor in terms of their consumption needs and patterns appears to be their Oriental ethnicity.

In the VALS typology, these groups together would be living an immigrant "Sustainer" lifestyle, which is a need driven-group. Because of their low incomes, members of this group tend to involve themselves in activities that are inexpensive (such as gardening or baking) and work to improve their situation. However, this description is lacking (or outdated) in that it fails to account for the more successful, better educated immigrants in the user population. Bourdieu also fails to discuss immigrants or ethnic groups as a class or class faction. Both typologies would seem to have an outdated view of immigrants as poor, unskilled, and isolated. This is not the case for many in the user population of 97th Street.

Summary

Overall, this chapter has tried to link each shopping area or consumption site with distinct social groupings. The data summarised in this chapter suggests that indeed each area does tend to attract fundamentally different groups of people in terms of age, marital status, occupation, income, hobbies, and personal interests. These differences were illustrated by using the "Nine American Lifestyles" typology, which demonstrated how each area was used by a different lifestyle group. Moreover, it has been found that user population structure was influenced by, but not based on proximity and local population patterns. Instead, patterns seen in the local or surrounding population in terms of demographic data are somewhat different from patterns in the user population, in that user population structure tends to be an exaggeration of certain elements of the local population found in each area.

CHAPTER FIVE
RETAIL STRUCTURE

OBJECTIVE

The objective of this chapter is to determine the retail structure of each study area, and to show evidence that the goods and services offered in each area are structured or have evolved in such a way that appeals to (or reflect the demands of) certain types of people identified in chapter four. This corresponds with the second objective of the thesis. This chapter intends to show any retail or functional specialisation that is occurring in each area, and how it can be related to the tastes and preferences of the user population.

In fulfilling the second objective of this thesis, there will be two arguments put forward in this chapter. The first argument is that these commercial areas, in becoming activity spaces for distinct social groups, have become less oriented towards a commuting automobile population, and providing the basic everyday needs of their local populations. In other words, their retail structure will have functionally changed, become less balanced and more specialised, compared with what would be seen in a "typical commercial ribbon" (Johnson & Chow-Li, 1972). The second argument is that if an increased specialisation is found, it will reflect the consumption needs of the user population groups found in each area in the previous chapter. This is done through a specialisation in the provision of "expressive" or "symbolic" goods and services that cater to these groups, and is indicative of their lifestyle (tastes and leisure habits).

As a result, this chapter will have four sections. The first will discuss the features of a "typical commercial ribbon". Then, the present (1994) general retail structure of each study area will be illustrated and compared both with past retail structures, and with the concept of a "typical commercial ribbon". The second section will introduce the concept of *habitus*, discuss how consumption patterns are related to social or lifestyle groups, and how retail structure (in consumption sites and ethnic areas) is affected by the consumption needs and tastes of the people who use them. The third section will then illustrate how the needs and tastes of the dominant user population groups in each study area (as typified in the previous chapter) are catered to in the specific goods and services offered in the retail structure of each area. The concluding section will summarise the findings of the chapter and discuss and compare the study areas in terms of their function and goods and services specialisation.

FUNCTIONAL CHANGES, EVOLVING RETAIL STRUCTURE IN THE STUDY AREAS

Generally, retail agglomerations occur in one of three forms: nucleations, centres, and ribbons. This section will discuss commercial ribbons, and the changes in retail structure which have occurred in each study area. This will then be related to the changes in function occurring in each study area over the past several years.

The Typical Commercial Ribbon

Commercial ribbons vary greatly in terms of their structures and functions, so much so that no clear consensus as to what functionally constitutes a commercial ribbon can be seen in the literature. However some generalizations have been made by Johnson & Chow-Li (1972) and Johnson & Boal (1968) in regard to the general characteristics of commercial ribbons. There are two basic generalisations:

1. Commercial ribbons are *multi-functional* in that they provide convenience retailing functions for nearby residential districts such as drugstores, laundromats, hardware stores and grocery stores. As well, their location on major traffic arteries attracts shops and services that depend upon the commuting or transient population such as gas stations, automobile accessory stores, fast food chains, new and used car lots, and supermarkets. This implies a variety of retail functions and, although agglomerations of certain functions may occur along the ribbon, many types of retail activity, serving both local and transient populations, can be found.
2. Commercial ribbons take on a *linear form*. This results from the ribbons' dependency on automobiles. Businesses need to locate on major roadways for visibility from, and access to, commuting automobiles. Therefore, commercial ribbons will develop linearly along the major roadway and spread laterally only at major intersections.

The Study Areas as Commercial Ribbons

Table 5.1 shows the general retail structure (based on the classification scheme of Johnson and Chow-Li, 1972)[22] of the Whyte Avenue study area in 1994 and in 1968. What can be seen in the former as compared to the latter is a dramatic rise in the proportion of "other" retail and personal service functions. These two categories of businesses now comprise 62.5% of the street-level businesses on Whyte Avenue [23]. There has also been a notable rise in apparel and accessories functions. By contrast, since 1968, the proportion of food, hardware, finance, and business service establishments has declined very substantially. As well, there has been a proportional decline in automobile services.

Clearly, since 1968 Whyte Avenue has structurally changed from a "typical" multi-functional commercial ribbon (Johnson & Chow-Li, 1972) into a retail structure that emphasises retail, clothing, and personal services. Therefore, linkages to the automobile and local population appear to be less dominant.

The morphology of the study area supports this claim in regards to the automobile population. Recent expansion of the Whyte Avenue retail area has detracted from the ribbon's linear form. Commercial businesses have expanded onto secondary roadways (81st and 83rd Avenues), suggesting less reliance on commuter based business (Figure 5.1).

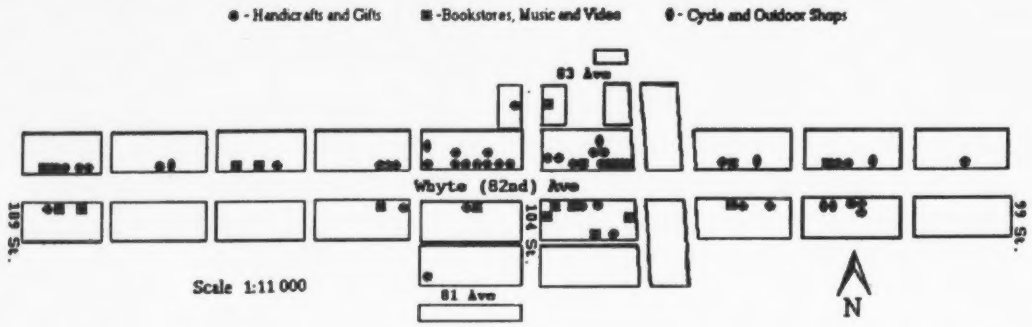
Table 5.1: General Retail Structure in Whyte Avenue Area, 1968 and 1994.

Business Types	1968#	%	1994#	%
Food	24	8.2	14	4.3
General Merchandise	5	1.7	7	2.1
Department Stores	2	0.7	1	0.3
General Stores	2	0.7	2	0.6
Others	1	0.3	4	1.2
Automobile Group	20	6.8	19	5.8
Apparel & Accessories*	11	3.8	21	6.4
Hardware, Furniture & Appliances	29	9.9	8	2.5
"Other" Retail	44	15.0	102	31.3
Others	35	12.0	36	11.1
Handicraft & Gift*	6	2.0	42	12.9
Book Stores*	3	1.0	8	2.5
Music, Record & Video*	3	1.0	9	2.7
Cycle & Outdoor Shops*	3	1.0	8	2.5
Finance	44	15.0	14	4.3
Community Services	23	7.9	25	7.7
Personal Services	55	19.0	102	31.2
Others	37	12.7	30	9.2
Restaurants*	17	5.8	34	10.4
Coffee Shops*	-	-	15	4.6
Pubs*	-	-	17	5.2
Salons*	11	3.8	4	1.2
Fast Food Chains	-	-	2	0.6
Businesses & Services	26	8.9	4	1.2
Miscellaneous	11	3.8	10	3.1
Total	292	100	326	100
Total "Expressive" Goods	54	18.4	158	48.5

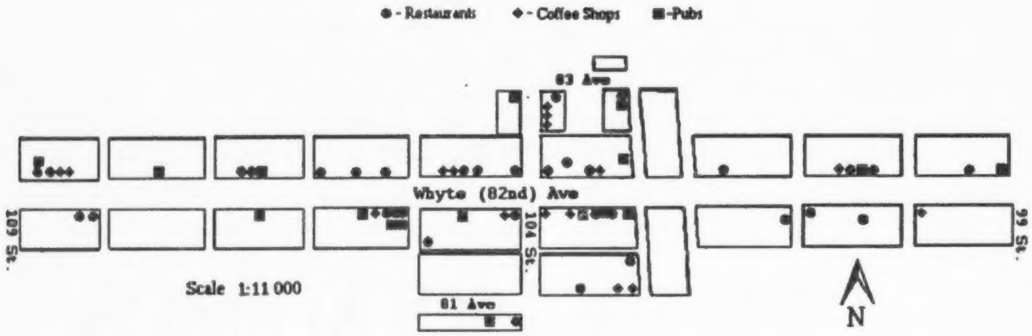
* - Denotes goods considered "Expressive" of lifestyle.

Sources: 1994 field survey, Johnson & Chow-Li (1972), and Hendersons' Directory (1968).

A) "Other Retail" (Handicrafts, Gifts and Galleries)


● - Handicrafts and Gifts
■ -Bookstores, Music and Video
● - Cycle and Outdoor Shops
83 Ave
Whyte (82nd) Ave
109 St.
104 St.
99 St.
Scale 1:11 000
81 Ave
N

B) Personal Services (Restaurants, Cafes and Pubs)


● - Restaurants
◆ - Coffee Shops
■ -Pubs
83 Ave
Whyte (82nd) Ave
109 St.
104 St.
99 St.
Scale 1:11 000
81 Ave
N

C) Clothing and Accessories

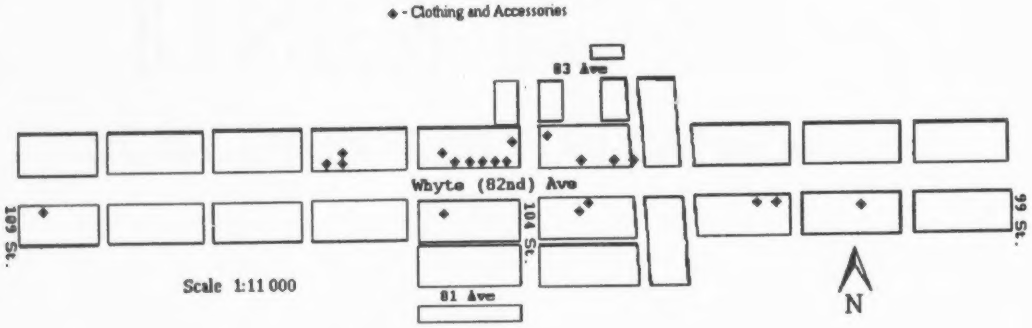

◆ - Clothing and Accessories
83 Ave
Whyte (82nd) Ave
109 St.
104 St.
99 St.
Scale 1:11 000
81 Ave
N

Figure 5.1A-C: Store Types and Locations on Whyte Avenue, 1994.

In the case of 124th Street, a previous study (Carter, 1973) found that the area was not a typical commercial ribbon in that office activities were dominant over other convenience and automobile functions. Table 5.2 illustrates how this functional character has changed (on street level shops) in that businesses and finance activities have dramatically dropped as a proportion of 124th Street's businesses. In their place, apparel and accessories, hardware and appliances, and "other" retail have all made very significant increases by 1994. The two largest groups now being "other" retail (20.4%) and personal services (24.4%). In this respect, the commercial ribbon has become more "typical" in that linkages with the local population have increased, as seen in the fact that the ribbon has become more multi-functional.

In addition, the continuing linear form of the commercial area supports this notion in regard to automobiles. Almost without exception, all commercial development in the area has taken place laterally along the major roadways that intersect 124th street, notably Stony Plain Road, 102 Avenue and 107 Avenue (Figure 5.2). This suggests a functional dependence on automobile accessibility and visibility.

On 97th street (Table 5.3) the most noticeable change since 1980 is the dramatic increase in the total number of businesses in the area. This is the result of a large amount of retail development that has taken place on 97th Street, 98th Street (Asia Square), and 100th Street (Far East Centre and Mai King Market Place) at the expense of many houses and apartment blocks. Noticeable changes in the retail structure include substantial drops in the proportion of finance and business services, and large proportional increases in "other" retail. There were also proportional increases in food, general merchandise, and apparel stores. However, if actual growth is examined instead of proportional growth (since the overall growth rate is so high), it shows that the number of food establishments has tripled, the number of "other" retail has increased more than twelve times, and the number of personal services has increased two and one-half times. As a result this area has a retail structure heavily based on personal services, "other" retail, and food. The comparative lack of automobile functions, finance and businesses make this area unlike a typical commercial ribbon.

In addition, retail development occurring in the area between 97th Street and 101st Street has caused the morphology to deviate from the linear pattern. This implies that commuter visibility and accessibility are no longer vital in this area, as the development has taken place on non-arterial routes and in areas hidden from commuting traffic, notably at 98th Street and 100th Street (Figure 5.3).

Thus, the retail structure and morphology of Whyte Avenue and 97th Street indicate that they no longer fit the features of a typical commercial ribbon. Both of these areas possess a retail structure that does not generally serve, or at least rely on, the basic needs of the local population or commuting traffic. Whyte Avenue has developed a specialised retail structure dominated by personal services and "other" retail, while 97th Street emphasises food, personal services, and a growing proportion of "other" retail.

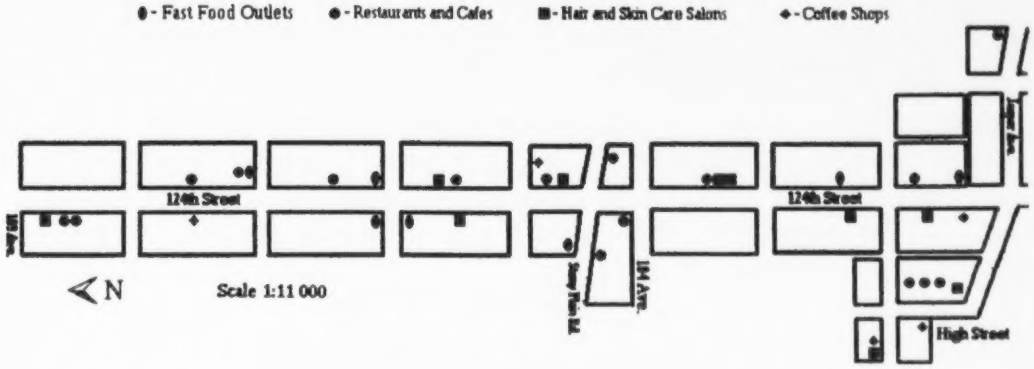
Table 5.2: General Retail Structure of 124th Street Area, 1973 and 1994.

Business Types	1973#	%	1994#	%
Food	4	1.9	8	3.6
General Merchandise	0	0	3	1.4
Department Stores	0	0	0	0
General Stores	0	0	2	0.9
Others	0	0	1	0.5
Automobile Group	5	2.4	3	1.4
Apparel & Accessories*	1	0.5	12	5.4
Hardware, Furniture & Appliances	10	4.8	28	12.7
Hardware	3	1.4	11	5.0
Furniture*	4	1.9	7	3.2
Interior*	3	1.4	10	4.5
"Other" Retail	11	5.3	45	20.4
Others	8	3.8	28	12.7
Handicrafts and Gifts*	1	0.5	8	3.6
Flower Shops*	1	0.5	5	2.3
Cycle and Outdoor*	1	0.5	2	0.9
Book Stores*	-	-	2	0.9
Finance	51	24.0	9	4.1
Community Services	9	4.3	23	10.4
Art Galleries*	11	5.3	9	4.1
Personal Services	25	12.0	54	24.4
Others	12	5.7	15	6.8
Restaurants*	6	2.9	15	6.8
Coffee Shops*	-	0	6	2.7
Hair & Skin Salons*	7	3.3	10	4.5
Fast Food Chains	-	-	7	3.2
Businesses & Services	79	38.0	25	11.3
Miscellaneous	3	1.4	4	1.8
Total	209	100	221	99.6
Total "Expressive" Goods	28	16.8	91	38.9

* - Denotes goods and services "expressive" of lifestyle.

Sources: 1994 field survey, Carter (1973), Hendersons' Directory (1973).

A) Personal Services (Restaurants, Salons, Coffee Shops)


● - Fast Food Outlets
● - Restaurants and Cafes
■ - Hair and Skin Care Salons
◆ - Coffee Shops
124th Street
124th Street
High Street
N
Scale 1:11 000

B) "Other Retail" (Flower Shops, Art Galleries), and Interior Shops

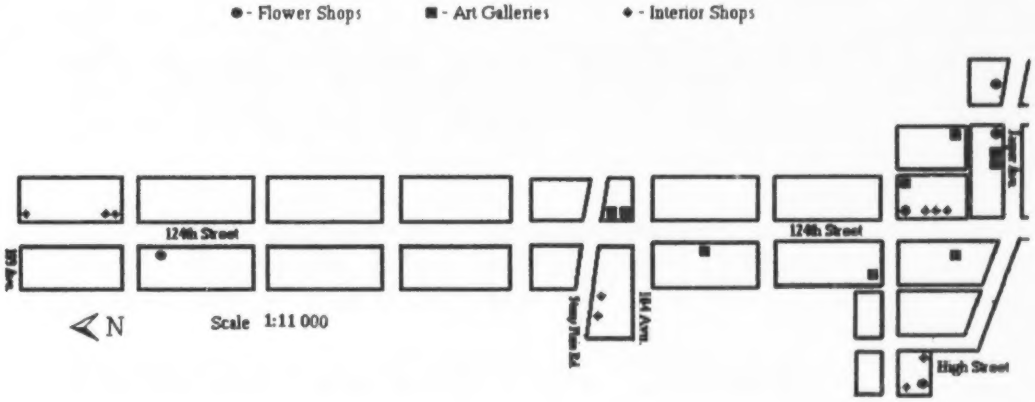

● - Flower Shops
■ - Art Galleries
◆ - Interior Shops
124th Street
124th Street
High Street
N
Scale 1:11 000

Figure 5.2A & B: Store types and locations on 124th Street, 1994.

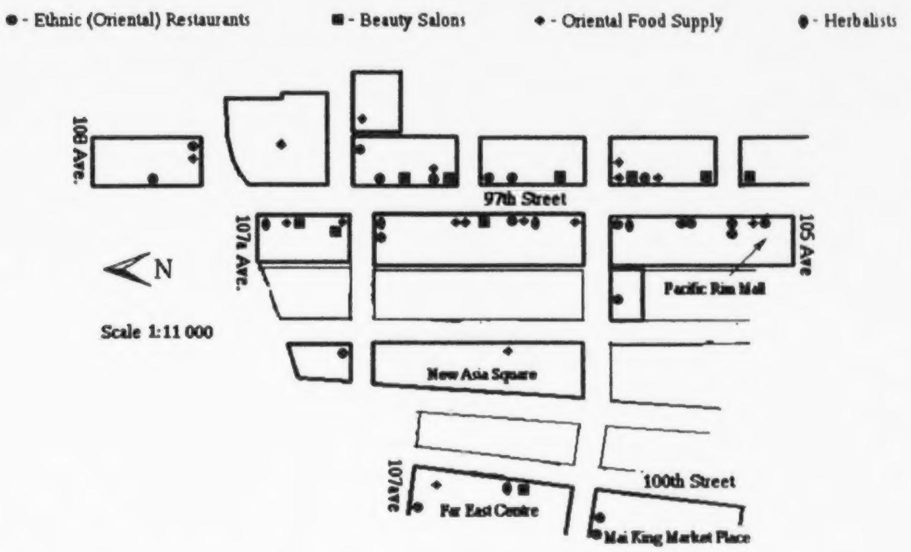
Table 5.3: General Retail Structure in the 97th Street Area, 1980 and 1994.

Business Types	1980#	%	1994#	%
Food	6	13.0	21	16.0
Bakery Goods*[24]	2	4.3	6	4.5
Meat & Grocery*	3	6.5	6	4.5
Meat Markets*	0	0	2	1.5
Herbalists*	0	0	5	3.8
General Food*	1	2.2	2	1.5
General Merchandise	0	0	4	3.0
Department Stores*	0	0	1	0.8
General Stores	0	0	3	2.3
Automobile Group	2	4.3	2	1.5
Apparel & Accessories*	0	0	8	6.1
Hardware, Furniture & Appliances	3	6.5	7	5.3
Hardware				
Furniture & Appliance	0	0	2	1.5
	3	6.5	5	3.8
"Other" Retail	2	4.3	25	19.0
Others	1	2.2	7	5.3
Book Stores & Video*	0	0	7	5.3
Gift Shops*	1	2.2	3	2.3
Jewellers*	0	0	8	6.1
Finance	4	8.7	4	3.0
Community Services	5	11.0	17	13.0
Personal Services	14	30.0	37	28.0
Others	7	15.0	7	5.3
Restaurants*	4	8.7	21	16.0
Hair & Skin Care*	3	6.5	10	7.6
Businesses & Services	8	17.0	5	3.8
Miscellaneous	2	4.3	2	1.5
Total	46	100	132	100
Total "Expressive" Goods	N/A	N/A	78	59.4

* - Denotes goods and services "expressive" of lifestyle.

Sources: 1994 field survey and Hendersons' Directory (1980)

A) Personal Services (Restaurants, Salons) and Specialised Food Supply


● - Ethnic (Oriental) Restaurants
■ - Beauty Salons
◆ - Oriental Food Supply
● - Herbalists
108 Ave.
97th Street
107a Ave.
105 Ave
N
Scale 1:11 000
Pacific Rim Mall
New Asia Square
100th Street
107ave
Far East Centre
Mai King Market Place

B) "Other Retail"

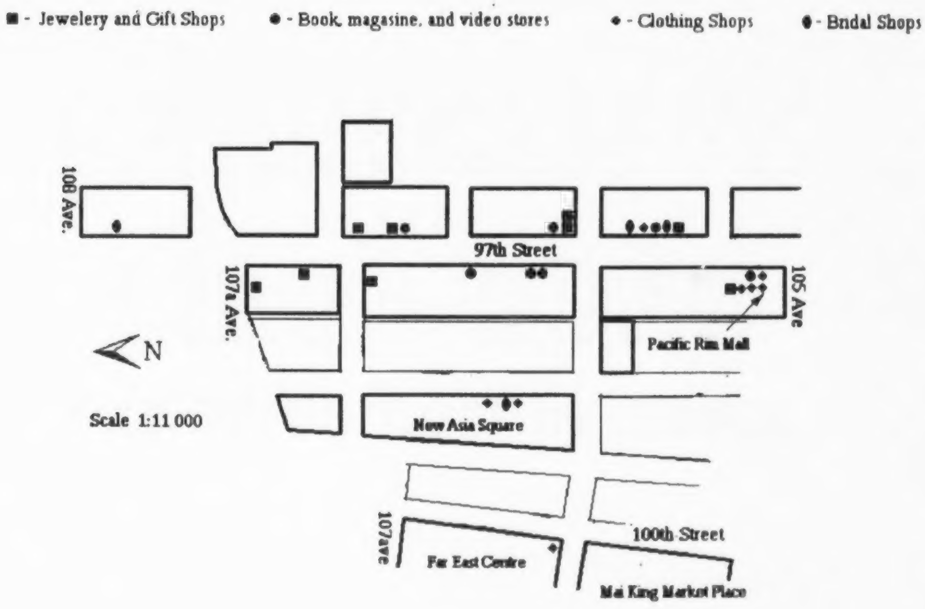

■ - Jewelery and Gift Shops
● - Book. magasine. and video stores
◆ - Clothing Shops
● - Bridal Shops
108 Ave.
97th Street
107a Ave.
105 Ave
N
Scale 1:11 000
Pacific Rim Mall
New Asia Square
100th Street
107ave
Far East Centre
Mai King Market Place

Figure 5.3A & B: Store Types and locations in the 97th Street area, 1994.

On 124th Street the opposite has occurred. The area has become more "typical" in the sense that the area has become more multi-functional than it was twenty years ago. It currently shows a more balanced retail structure (with a slight emphasis on personal services), indicating more linkages to the local or convenience population.

THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL GROUPS ON RETAIL STRUCTURE

This section will introduce the concept of *habitus*, and how it relates to consumption and purchasing patterns. Then this section will discuss how retail structure can be affected by the habitus of distinct social groups.

Habitus, Tastes, and Consumer Culture

Habitus is defined as "the unconscious dispositions, the classifactory schemes, taken-for-granted preferences which are evident in the individual's sense of the appropriateness and validity of his taste for cultural goods and practices-art, food, holidays, hobbies, etc." (Featherstone, 1987 pp.64). Habitus is determined largely by occupation and inheritance of economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Each group, class, and class faction has a different habitus and, therefore, a different set of needs and tastes in goods.

As a result, possession of certain goods becomes an integral part of group or class identification, given the increased tendency for goods, commodities, and activities to be valued more as communicators of self-expression, taste, and lifestyle. In fact, status groups use specific patterns of consumption to establish differences, and mark off their way of life from other groups (Bocock, 1993). Thus Suchar (1992) finds a material culture based on "status markers": objects; artifacts; furnishings; clothing that reflect their sense of taste, class-affiliation and lifestyle: in gentrifier's homes (in Lincoln Park, Chicago).

In the act of consumption, therefore, different groups are going to demand different goods and services that fulfil their specific needs or habitus. The consumption site, the space where consumption is mediated, translates into a retail environment that is geared towards the tastes of the dominant groups that use the area. This area in turn fulfils needs by providing the "cultural capital" important to that group (Zukin, 1990).

Effects on Retail Structure

There are few examples in the literature of how the retail structure of consumption sites and ethnic areas are bound to reflect the lifestyles, needs, values, and tastes, of the people who use them. Those examples that do exist are related to the process of gentrification.

The consumption sites of gentrification have been shown to reflect the material values and needs of upper-middle class professionals, managers, and engineers by catering to their consumption needs (Zukin, 1990; Beauregard, 1986; Suchar, 1992).

Thus, gentrified shopping areas have a retail structure that consistently is composed of social spaces as bars, clubs, and coffee shops where gentrifiers, often being single, can meet friends and sexual partners as well as consume outside the home (Beauregard, 1986). In addition, gentrified areas have been found to consist of "the eclectic menu of an 'international bistro', the art galleries with bare wood floors and always open doors, the food and designer boutiques where articles are on exhibit as much as on sale" synthesising into a chic, downtown scene (Zukin, p.41). Similarly, Suchar (1992) describes gentrified Lincoln Park in Chicago as youth oriented, reflected in its commercial establishments and its lifestyle characterised by "joggers in the park, punk youth culture, and international cuisine".

In the case of ethnic consumption space, class affiliation, and habitus can be replaced with ethnic affiliation and ethnic habitus. While little research has been done on the retail structure of ethnic shopping areas, some studies do point to purchasing behaviour that can be influenced by ethnic identification and preferences. Firstly, food is very often used as a symbolic marker of ethnicity both as a divisive force and as a marker of self-identification to the individual. Van Esterik (1982) notes that ethnic food in a festival framework is used to exaggerate differences between ethnic groups, brag about ethnic heritage, and used by outsiders to stereotype groups. The notions of ethnic food festivals and of "Saturday ethnics" (taking part in traditional meals as an occasion while otherwise living an "un-ethnic" lifestyle the rest of the week) are examples of the use of ethnic food as an instrument of self-identification. Given the importance of food as a marker of ethnicity, one could expect the retail structure of an ethnic consumption site to have a large amount of food services.

In addition, Aldrich *et al.* (1985), using social distance as a controlling factor in ethnic purchases, found that the proportion of ethnic minorities served in a shop owned by a co-ethnic is highly variable by business type. Ethnicity was found to be least important as a factor for shops selling products in which little or fleeting customer interaction is involved, and purchases are small. This included convenience stores and supermarkets. Customers were less willing to cross ethnic lines for purchases that required more personal contact. Clothing stores and restaurants were at the extreme of this scale. As a result, one could expect in our general categories that food, hardware and appliances, apparel, and personal services would be over represented in an ethnic context. These generalisations are supported by Jones (1984) who stated briefly that the dominant functions of ethnic/minority shopping streets are food, restaurants, and personal services (Jones, 1984 pp.96).

Aldrich *et al.* also found that ethnic proprietors often cited as the reason why few outsiders shopped in their stores was that they provided unique goods and services appealing only to members of that particular ethnic group. As a result, one would expect that large ethnic populations in a shopping area would cause a certain amount of commercial specialisation. This effect on the retail structure would vary from group to group, but one can deduce such cultural items as ethnic magazines, books, newspapers, as well as traditional handicrafts, and certain food establishments, should be over-represented.

LIFESTYLE SPECIALISATION IN THE STUDY AREAS

Now that the relationship between user group and retail structure has been established, the retail structure of Whyte Avenue, 124th Street, and 97th Street can be examined in detail in relation to the user groups found in Chapter Four.

Specialisation of Retail Structure in the Study Areas

In many ways, the retail structure of Whyte Avenue is similar to the consumption space discussed by Zukin, Beauregard, and Suchar. Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1 imply a significant and growing proportion of retail establishments are social spaces. Restaurants, coffee shops, and pubs account for about 20% of all businesses. Restaurants in the area tended to be mid-priced, and often feature "international" menus (Figure 5.4).

"Other" retail is, by proportion, the largest function in the area. Of particular note is the number of "Handicraft and Gift Galleries" (selling arts, crafts, antiques, decoration and other "knick-knacks", see Figure 5.5), of which there are forty-two stores, or 13% of the retail structure, most of these are concentrated between 103rd Street and 105th Street (Figure 5.1b) where they form an even larger part of the retail structure. In addition, the area sports a comparatively large number of book stores (eight), video, music and record stores (nine), and bicycle and outdoor stores (seven). While proportionately these three categories together only add up to 7.4% of the retail structure, this is a large proportion in comparison to other areas.

Clothing and apparel stores account for 6.4% of the entire ribbon but, as Figure 5.1 shows, seventeen out of twenty-one clothing stores appear in the blocks between 103rd street and 106th street, and are therefore a large part of the retail structure in this section. In addition, many of these stores sell unique or avant-garde clothing (as independent stores or small chains) not found in many other locations in the city. These items are often hand-made or imported and have a distinct appeal to certain sub-cultural groups (Figure 5.6).

On 124th Street (Table 5.2 and Figure 5.2), although there is a slight dominance of personal services and "other" retail, the retail structure is much more balanced, in terms of being multi-functional, than that found on Whyte avenue. This balance suggests more links with the local population.

Personal services show a proportionately large amount of restaurants, generally either expensive restaurants (Figure 5.7) or fast-food establishments. As well, there are also a relatively large number (ten) of hair and skin care salons.

The "other" retail category, the second largest, has no concentration of certain types of goods as Whyte Avenue. Flower shops appear to be the only retail type that has an unusually high number of stores (five) in the area.

Hardware, furniture, and appliances are retail functions that are large in comparison with the 1973 proportion and with the other study areas. This is due to the occurrence of several hardware, furniture (Figure 5.8), and interior shops which number 5.0, 3.2, and 4.5% of businesses respectively. Fine art galleries, although

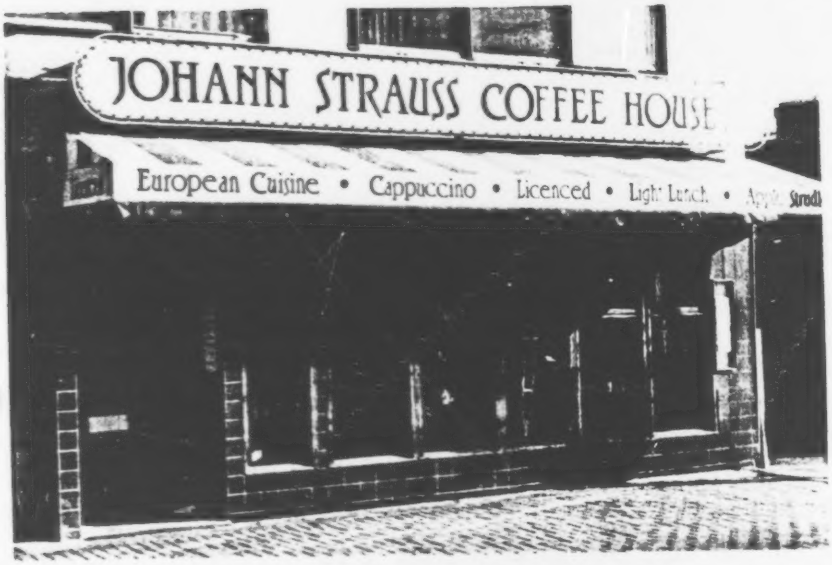

JOHANN STRAUSS COFFEE HOUSE
European Cuisine • Cappuccino • Licenced • Light Lunch • Apple Strudel

Figure 5.4: International menus, Johann Strauss Coffee House and Deli (avg. entree price $9.00).

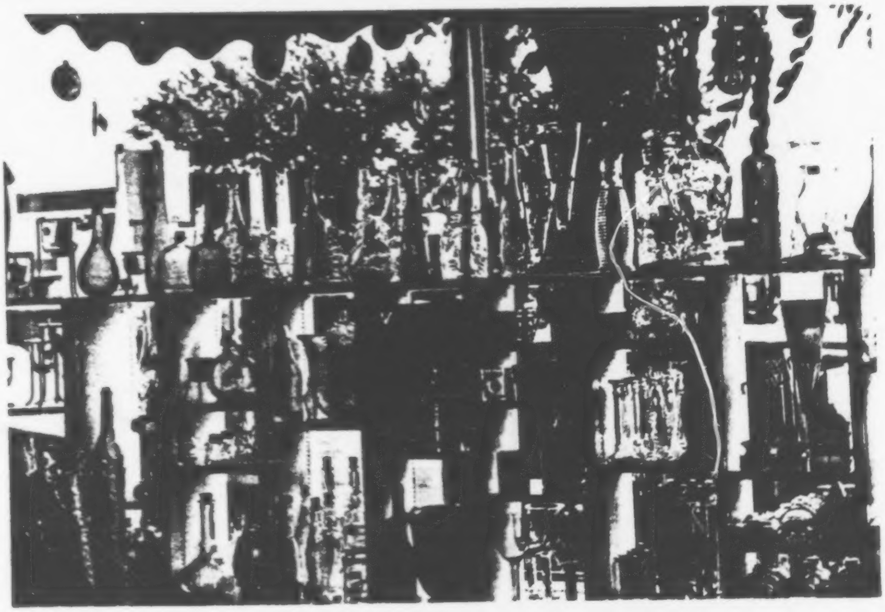


Figure 5.5: "Knick-knacks", Interior of "When Pigs Fly" on Whyte Avenue.

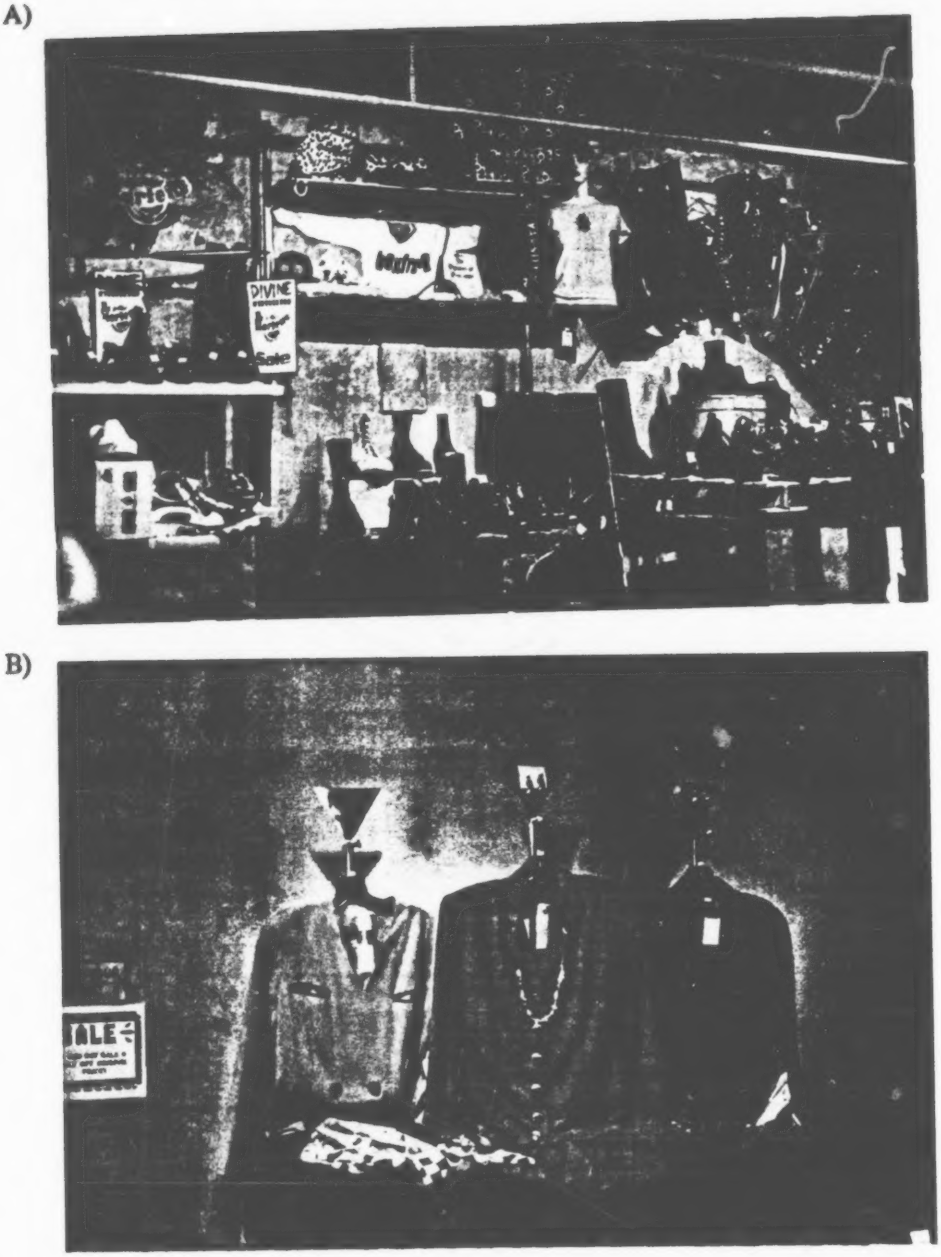

A)
DIVINE
Sale
B)
ALE

Figure 5.4: Subcultural Clothing, Interior of Divine Decadence on (A.) Whyte Avenue Compared to (B.) Episode on 124th Street.

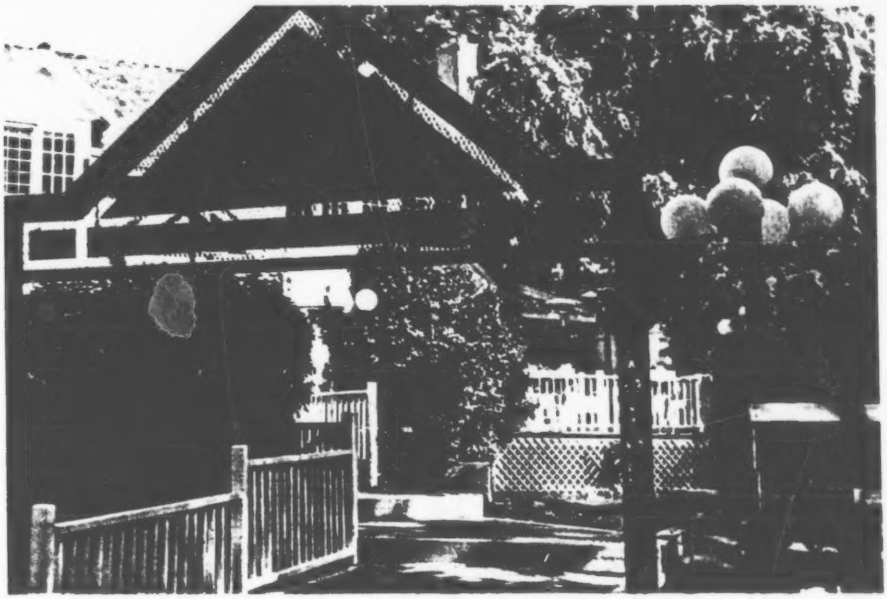


Figure 5.7: Expensive restaurants, Emery's in High Street (avg. entree price $18.00).

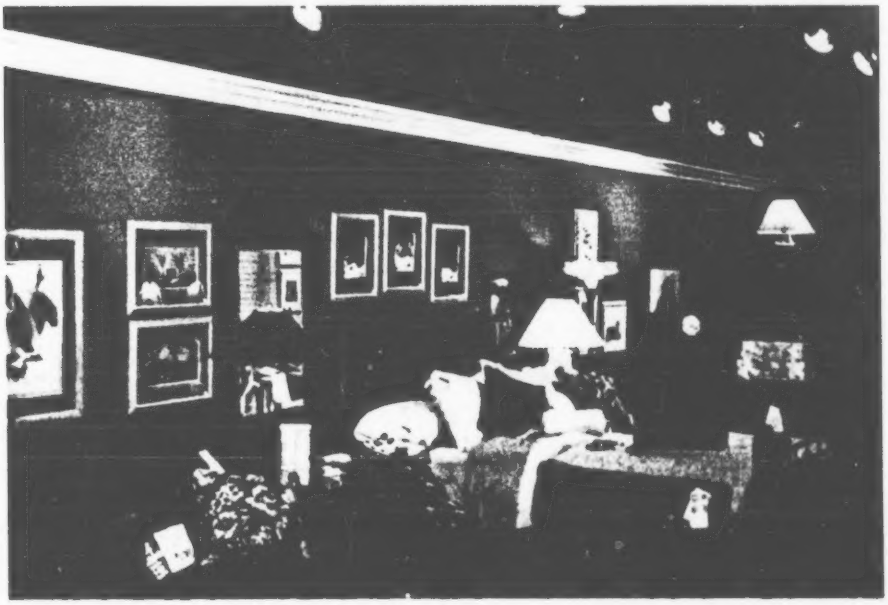


Figure 5.8: Home/Luxury space, Cottswood Fine Furnishings.

declining, still make up 4.1% of the retail structure, and like interior shops and flower shops, are concentrated between Jasper Avenue and Stony Plain Road.

On 97th street, the dominant activities are found to be personal services, "other" retail, and food (see Table 5.3 and Figure 5.9). Specifically, the personal services provided were overwhelmingly dominated by restaurants and beauty salons (16 and 7.6% of the total number of stores). In terms of "other" retail, jewellery stores, cultural products (book stores, music and video stores) dominate that category with 6.8 and 5.3% of total businesses.

The food category, comparatively large in number in this area (16%), consists of a mix of bakeries, grocery stores, meat markets, and general food stores that overwhelmingly cater to East Asian customers (Figure 5.8). In addition, there are five herbalists (prominent in East Asian culture) located on 97th street. Clothing and apparel retail is the fourth most prominent category at 6.1%. Included in this is a large number of four bridal shops.

Retail Structure as part of Habitus

This section will relate the specialisations found in the retail structure in each study area to the characteristics found in their user respective populations in chapter four.

Whyte Avenue

The dominant user groups on Whyte Avenue discussed in chapter four (the "inner-directed" groups and the "new petite bourgeoisie") were characterised as flamboyant, and interested in cultural (arts), social (consumption), and physically demanding (outdoor) activities. They tend to value the accumulation of cultural capital over economic capital, and are the most conspicuous consumers, not of material goods per se, but lifestyle goods: goods that express their individuality as cosmopolitan, "hip" people.

The prominence of restaurants, coffee shops, and pubs reflect the habitus of these groups of conspicuous consumption and social space. These services, especially for the younger "I-Am-Me" and "Experiential" lifestyles, provide areas for this mostly single population to meet friends and sexual partners, and to consume in a social situation. As well, the "International" style of these spaces supports this group's taste for the cosmopolitan and stylish.

The provision of goods in this area emphasises "other" retail. Much of this involves the selling of "original" arts and crafts, as well as contemporary clothing. These reflect the need for individual self-expression and "status markers" which serve to define their individual taste and class affiliation flamboyantly through the possession of unique or stylish artifacts and clothing.

The large number of stores providing cultural resources (books, records, magazines, video) reflect the interests, leisure pursuits, and hobbies of this group and provide the up-to-date cultural capital this group desires. This group's interests in

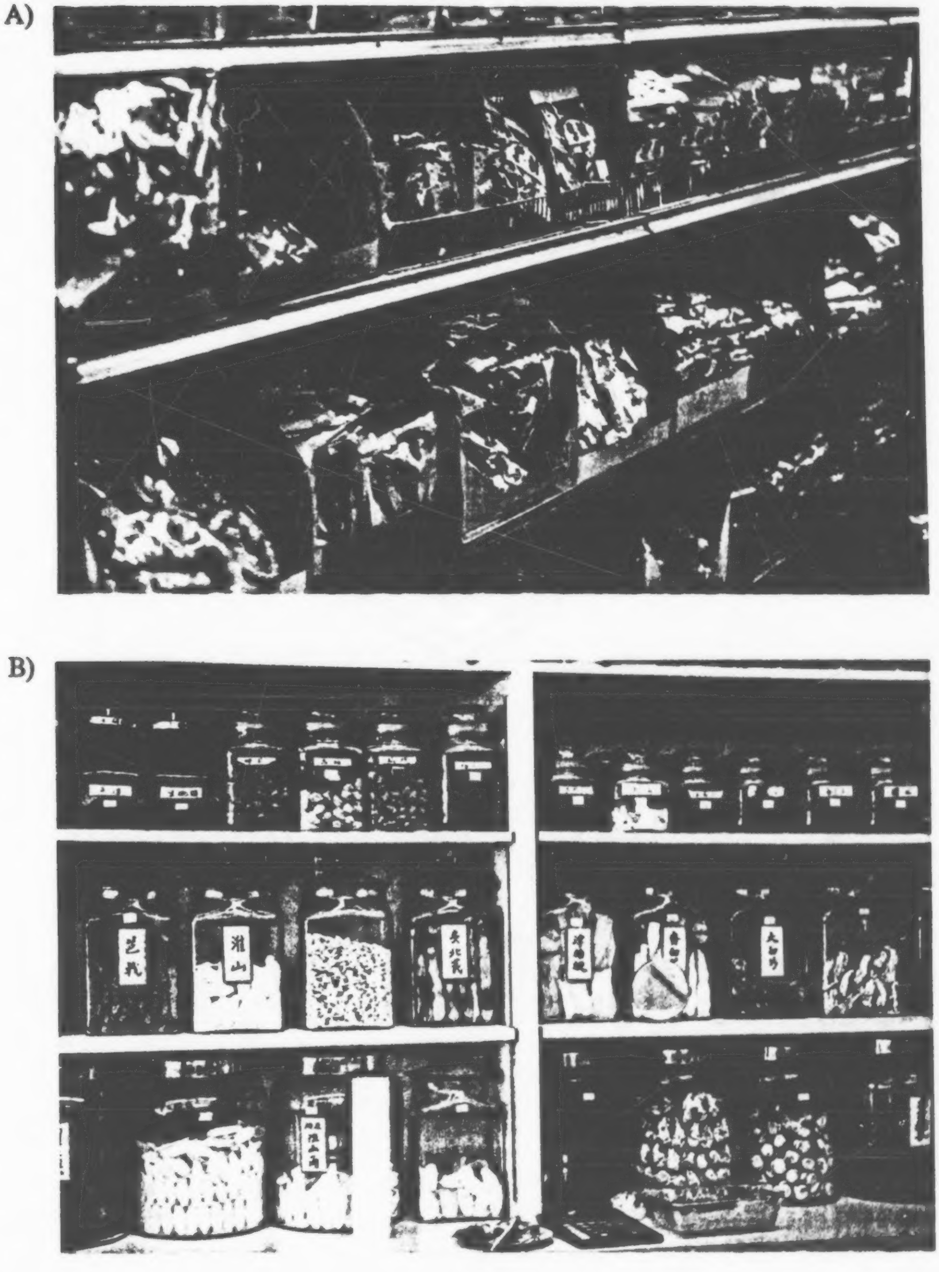


Figure 5.9A & B: East Asian Food: (A.) Hiep Tranh trading co. and (B.) Bao-Shing Herbalist.

reading, music, film, art, and outdoor activities (shown in Chapter Four) is catered to in the number of book stores, video outlets, music and record stores, live music[25], and in the number of bicycle and outdoor stores.

Overall, almost half of the retail structure of Whyte Avenue consist of goods and services that cater to the specific habitus of the dominant user population (see "expressive" goods in Table 5.1). This suggests a retail structure which has become quite specialised in serving the needs of one distinct group of people.

124th Street

The dominant user groups on 124th Street were seen to be "outer-directed" groups (or the executant (petite) bourgeoisie) and were characterised as more prosperous, ambitious businesspeople, administrators, professionals and technicians. These groups were judged as home, work, and family oriented (as shown in their magazine selection) and they supposedly concentrate on attaining economic, not cultural capital. However, surveys showed a large amount of artistic pursuits in the 124th Street user population.

While the somewhat balanced retail structure suggests that 124th Street is more of a "typical" commercial ribbon than an activity space, the structure does reflect some of the habitus of its dominant groups. As opposed to social space (as on Whyte avenue), the structure in this area emphasises home/luxury space. This is seen in the larger amount of retail devoted to hardware, furniture, flower, and interior shops (things centred around home improvement and decoration) and hair and skin care salons (personal luxury).

The emphasis on more expensive restaurants and fine art galleries (south of Stony Plain Road) may very well reflect either the interest in the arts shown in the surveys, or the preference for "high culture", shown in the bourgeoisie classes[26], and the collection and consumption of expensive goods or luxuries. However, the proportion of the retail structure devoted to the habitus of the user population is only 38.9% (see Table 5.2). Although this proportion is growing, currently more functional or basic goods and services, still dominate the retail structure.

97th Street

In the previous chapter, the user population on 97th Street was considered a need-driven group, largely due to their low incomes and their "immigrant" status. However, this description was found to be inappropriate because many of the respondents were well-educated, and had moderate incomes. The idea of this user population being a "need-driven group" may be more relevant in terms of social distance.

The previous section discussed how social distance was a major factor in the purchasing behaviour of ethnic groups (more personalised and expensive products leading to more co-ethnic shopping). This appears to be evidenced in the emphasis in new Chinatown on salons, restaurants, clothing and bridal, and jewellery shops. In all cases the purchasing of these items involves a substantial amount of personal taste, and contact with the seller. Food provision was also judged to be important in terms of ethnic identification. It was also suggested that ethnic groups would have their own unique food needs that only co-ethnic businesses could fulfil. This has evidence in the preeminence of food establishments and herbalists catering to East Asians in the area.

Much as in Whyte Avenue, the provision of cultural capital to the lifestyle group is reflected in the retail structure. East Asian cultural products (books, music, video) form the majority of the "other" retail category, and reflect the ethnic habitus of the user population.

As a result, the proportion of the retail structure devoted to providing symbolic or expressive goods and services to its East Asian user population is 59.4%. This suggests an even more intense specialisation toward a distinct social group than occurs on Whyte Avenue.

SUMMARY

Maas (1984) has argued (in the development of vital areas), that shopping streets develop first as a result of the unique needs or demands of the local population. If the goods are unique or specialised enough, the area attracts certain groups of people from throughout the city (cosmopolitans), creating more demand for unique or specialised goods and services. What has been shown in this chapter is the tendency for two of theses areas to specialise in their retail structures by providing certain types of goods and services. These involve the fulfilment of needs apart from the convenience needs of local or the transient populations, and instead fulfil the needs user populations and their specific habitus.

Whyte Avenue was found to have an unbalanced retail structure, which suggested minimal linkages to both the automobile and the local convenience population. Instead, roughly half of the businesses in the area catered to the specific consumption needs of the distinct social groups which dominated the user population of the area (inner-directed groups). In this case, the retail structure was weighted towards social space (inexpensive things to do), unique handicrafts, cultural capital, avant garde clothing, and outdoor goods.

124th Street was found to be more "typical" or balanced in terms of its retail structure and morphology, suggesting linkages to both the local population and to the automobile population. A certain amount of the retail structure was found to be related to the habitus of its user population, notably an emphasis on the provision of more expensive home and luxury goods. However the bulk of the establishments in the area were still geared toward providing functional, not symbolic, goods and services.

The 97th Street retail structure was not influenced to any great degree by a convenience or commuting population, but by a combination of East Asian habitus and social distance. The habitus supported retail functions that appealed almost exclusively to an Asian population, including Asian cultural products (books, videos), and Asian food supplies. The effects of social distance supported a large amount of personalised retail functions, goods that involved much contact between buyer and seller and a large amount of personal taste, such as personal services and clothing. As a result, goods and services symbolic of an East Asian lifestyle accounted for the lion's share of the retail structure in this area.

Overall, this chapter has found that 124th Street is more of a typical commercial ribbon in terms of its retail structure, providing basic or functional goods and services to commuters and the surrounding local population. On the other hand, Whyte Avenue and 97th Street have evolved into areas which provide symbolic or expressive goods and services to satisfy the distinct consumption needs of their user populations.

CHAPTER SIX
ACTIVITY AND SHOPPING BEHAVIOUR

OBJECTIVE

This chapter will examine user population activity patterns and consumer behaviour in the three study areas. These activity patterns involve social centrality, leisure and leisure shopping as opposed to purposive shopping behaviour, and symbolic versus functional shopping activity.

In the last chapter, 124th Street was judged to be more of a typical commercial ribbon in terms of retail structure while Whyte Avenue and 97th Street were found to be more like consumption spaces. The two latter areas tended to specialise more in the provision of symbolic goods and services to a specific user population than in providing basic or functional goods and services. Consequently, this chapter, where relevant, will compare user population activities of 124th Street with Whyte Avenue and 97th Street in terms of functional activity verses activity characteristic of consumption sites.

Social centrality is somewhat linked to vitality in that vitality, manifested in the presence of large numbers of pedestrians, leads to a social atmosphere which in turn attracts more people (Maas, 1984 pp.25). Therefore, the existence of vitality in a shopping area (exemplified in a large pedestrian population) would suggest the social centrality of that area, whereas a lack of vitality would indicate the area is more functional or economic, and not a consumption site. This will be the topic of the first section of the chapter.

The existence of purposive behaviour and leisure shopping will be examined in the second section through the prevalence of recreational or non-specific shopping behaviour verses functional (economic or convenience) shopping behaviour among the user population of the three study areas.

The third section will investigate the presence of symbolic consumption activity. Such a phenomenon is inherently hard to measure, therefore this will be done vicariously through the measurement of store *activity*, by determining what kinds of stores are the focus of activity in the area. It can be argued that the symbolic function of a consumption site will express itself in terms of "expressive" shopping activity, which focuses on lifestyle (or taste) behaviour and expression indicative of the habitus of groups defined in the previous chapters. By contrast, "functional" store activity, relating to basic services (that do not express "taste" or "lifestyle") or convenience shopping, would be lower in a consumption site than in a typical "economic" shopping area.

VITALITY AND MEASURED PEDESTRIAN ACTIVITY

"Certain quintessential elements of the pedestrian population appear to designate vital from non-vital places" (Maas, 1984 pp.11). Among these, Maas designated size of the pedestrian population, continuity of crowds throughout the day, and pedestrian behaviour. This section investigates these components in the three study areas.

Pedestrian Frequency and Continuity

These aspects were researched using the observational techniques discussed earlier in the introduction and in Chapter Four. The size of the population was measured at several "stations" (Appendix 3) by simply counting the number of people to walk across a selected point on the side-walk. These counts were tallied over a two minute period to account for traffic light changes. Pedestrian continuity was checked simply by taking pedestrian counts during several time periods, from 11am to 12 midnight, seven days a week.

Figures 6.1 to 6.3 below show the average pedestrian frequencies observed in each study area during three different time periods (11am to 4pm, 6pm to 9pm, and 9pm to 12 midnight) for weekdays and weekends. On Whyte Avenue (Figure 6.1a-f) large amounts of activity were observed at all times, with maximum activity on weekend nights and days. Pedestrian frequency is shown to be especially high between 103rd Street and 105th Street, the area of most intensive retail development. The high numbers of pedestrians and the continuity of pedestrian traffic suggest the that area is vital.

The 124th Street area by contrast has very low levels of pedestrian activity and the activity that does exist is limited to the daytime hours. Figure 6.2a-f show that only in the southern portion of the area (in the vicinity of 102nd Avenue) does pedestrian activity reach any significant amount, and then only in weekday and weekend afternoons. During evening and late night time periods the area is almost deserted. This is especially true in the mid-portion of the area between Stony Plain Road and 107th Avenue. The lack of pedestrian activity and continuity suggest that, in Maas' terms, this area cannot be considered vital.

In the 97th Street area (Figure 6.3a-f), pedestrian density peaks during day-times (especially weekends) with activity comparable to Whyte Avenue. Evening time periods (Figures 6.3c and d) show a certain amount of continuity as frequencies are still reasonably high in many areas. Late night pedestrian counts show little pedestrian activity. According to Maas' criteria, this area would be considered somewhat vital, as densities are high and a certain degree of continuity exists.

Pedestrian Behaviour

Another element of vitality that can be observed in pedestrian activity involves "the observed presence of impromptu events, performers, as well as tourists and people just looking" (Maas pp.11). The existence of street vendors, performers, panhandlers, window shoppers, and flamboyantly dressed persons was therefore noted during observational research.

Whyte Avenue was found to be very vital in this respect as many street performers, vendors, and panhandlers set up in high traffic side-walk areas, especially on weekends (see Figure 6.4a). In addition, window shoppers and "promenaders" (persons out on slow walks) are common between 103rd Street and 106th Street in evening hours when the weather is favourable. Unconventionally dressed persons were observed in all parts of the study area, but were most often seen in Gazebo Park, and between 103rd Street and 106th Street.

Once again, by contrast, the 124th Street area cannot be considered a vital area. Because of the lack of pedestrian activity, street performers, vendors, and panhandlers are non-existent. As well, because the store activity that does occur seemed to be car-based, window shoppers and promenaders are few and far between. Minimal amounts of window shopping occur only along Jasper Avenue (involving the art galleries), and in the High Street area (see Figure 6.4b).

The 97th Street area, like Whyte Avenue, has its share of street vendors and panhandlers indicating vitality. While the panhandlers in this area have no fixed or consistent territory, street vendors (selling fresh vegetables and seafood) are consistently located in four areas (see Figure 6.5 and 6.6). As well, window shoppers are common in the evenings along 97th Street, and promenaders are very common on Saturday and Sunday afternoons throughout the area.

USER POPULATION SHOPPING BEHAVIOUR

Implicit in the differences between "functional" shopping areas and consumption sites, with their social or cultural overtones, is a difference in the activities in which the users of such areas are engaged. Bellanger et al (1977) identified two main types of shopper: the convenience (economic) shopper and the recreational shopper. In this second section, this premise will be applied to shopping trips (not the shoppers themselves). Convenience (economic) trips (which will be referred to here as "functional" trips) imply purposive or specific behaviour, while recreational trips imply non-specific behaviour. These differences can be seen in two ways, the *intent* of the shopper or user (involving trip purposes and plans), and the resulting *action* or shopping patterns that result (involving trip patterns and purchases). Data on user population shopping behaviour was collected in questions one, three, four, six, and seven of the survey questionnaire (Appendix 1). Data from resulting tables will be tested for statistical differences using the Chi-square test formula provided by Ebdon (1990), a test appropriate for nominal frequency data. In all cases the null hypothesis (H_0) tested will state that there are no significant differences between user populations in each area. The research hypothesis (H1) for each case will be explicitly stated during each statistical test.

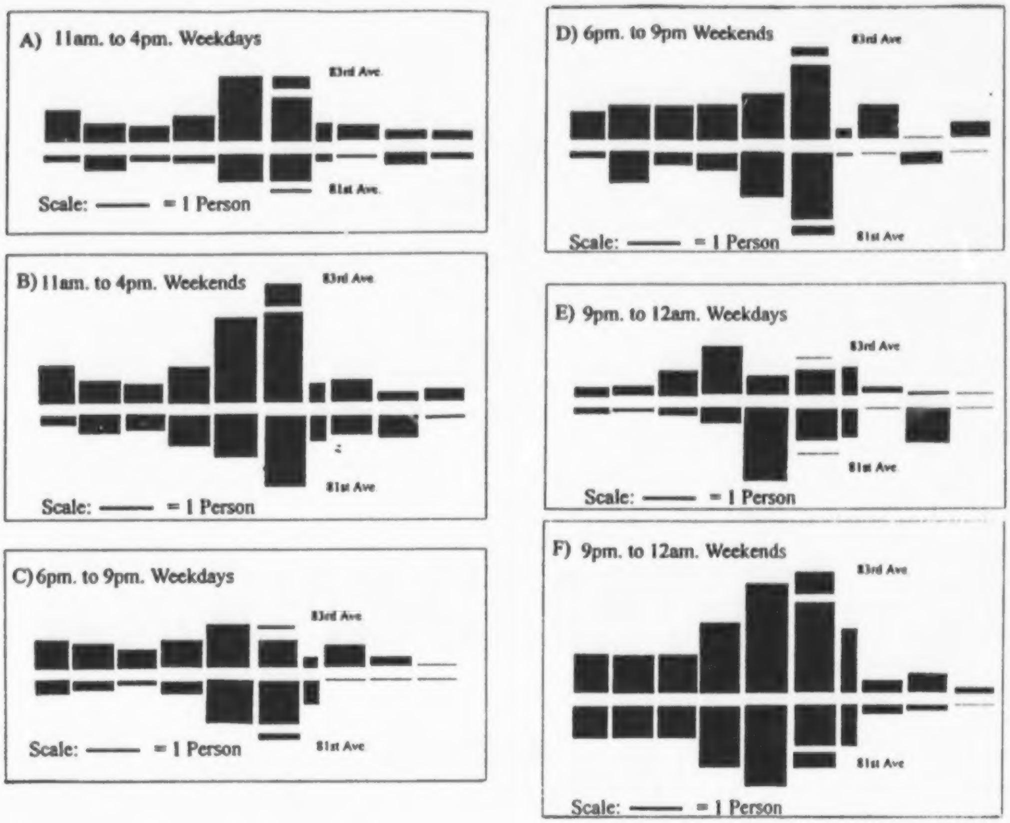


Figure 6.1A-F: Pedestrian Frequencies on Whyte Avenue.

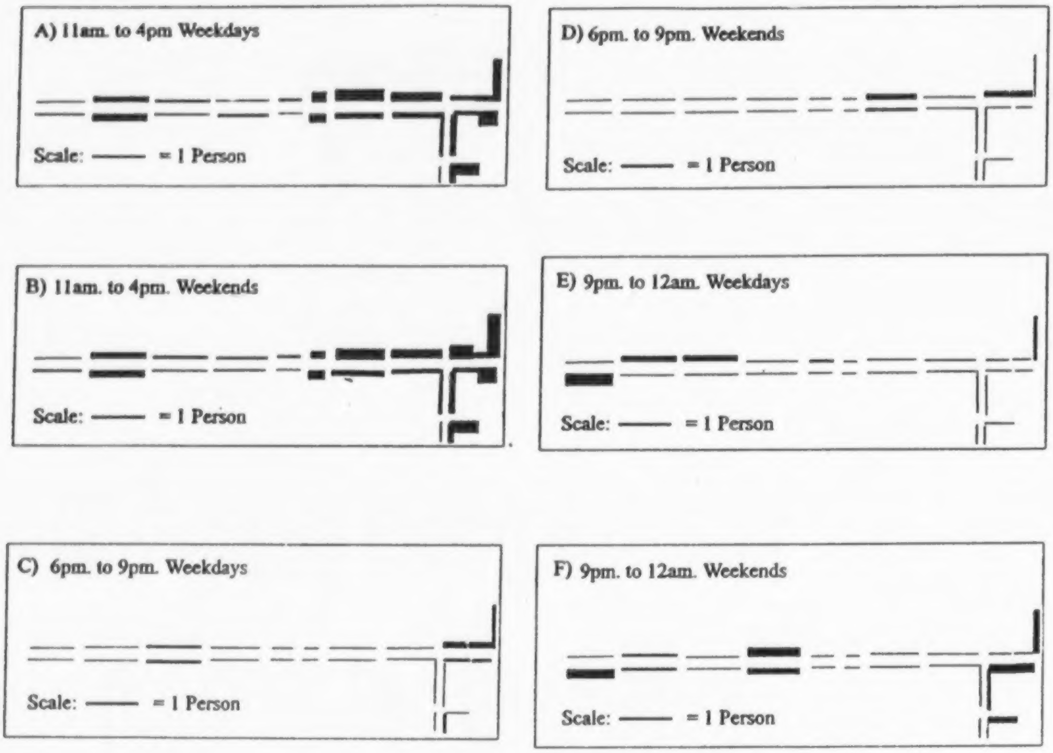

A) 11am. to 4pm Weekdays
Scale: —— = 1 Person
D) 6pm. to 9pm. Weekends
Scale: —— = 1 Person
B) 11am. to 4pm. Weekends
Scale: —— = 1 Person
E) 9pm. to 12am. Weekdays
Scale: —— = 1 Person
C) 6pm. to 9pm. Weekdays
Scale: —— = 1 Person
F) 9pm. to 12am. Weekends
Scale: —— = 1 Person

Figure 6.2A-F: Pedestrian Frequencies on 124th Street.

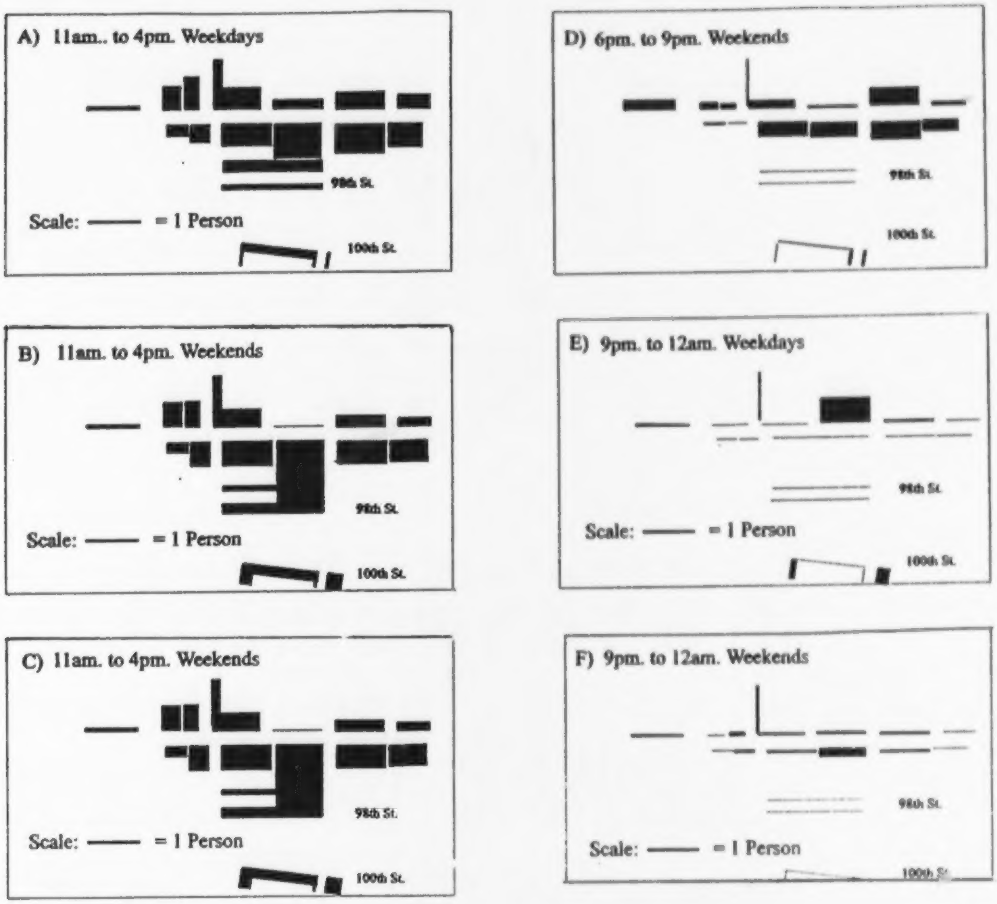

A) 11am.. to 4pm. Weekdays
98th St.
Scale: —— = 1 Person
100th St.
B) 11am. to 4pm. Weekends
98th St.
Scale: —— = 1 Person
100th St.
C) 11am. to 4pm. Weekends
98th St.
Scale: —— = 1 Person
100th St.
D) 6pm. to 9pm. Weekends
98th St.
100th St.
E) 9pm. to 12am. Weekdays
98th St.
Scale: —— = 1 Person
100th St.
F) 9pm. to 12am. Weekends
98th St.
Scale: —— = 1 Person
100th St.

Figure 6.3A-F: Pedestrian Frequencies on 97th Street and area.

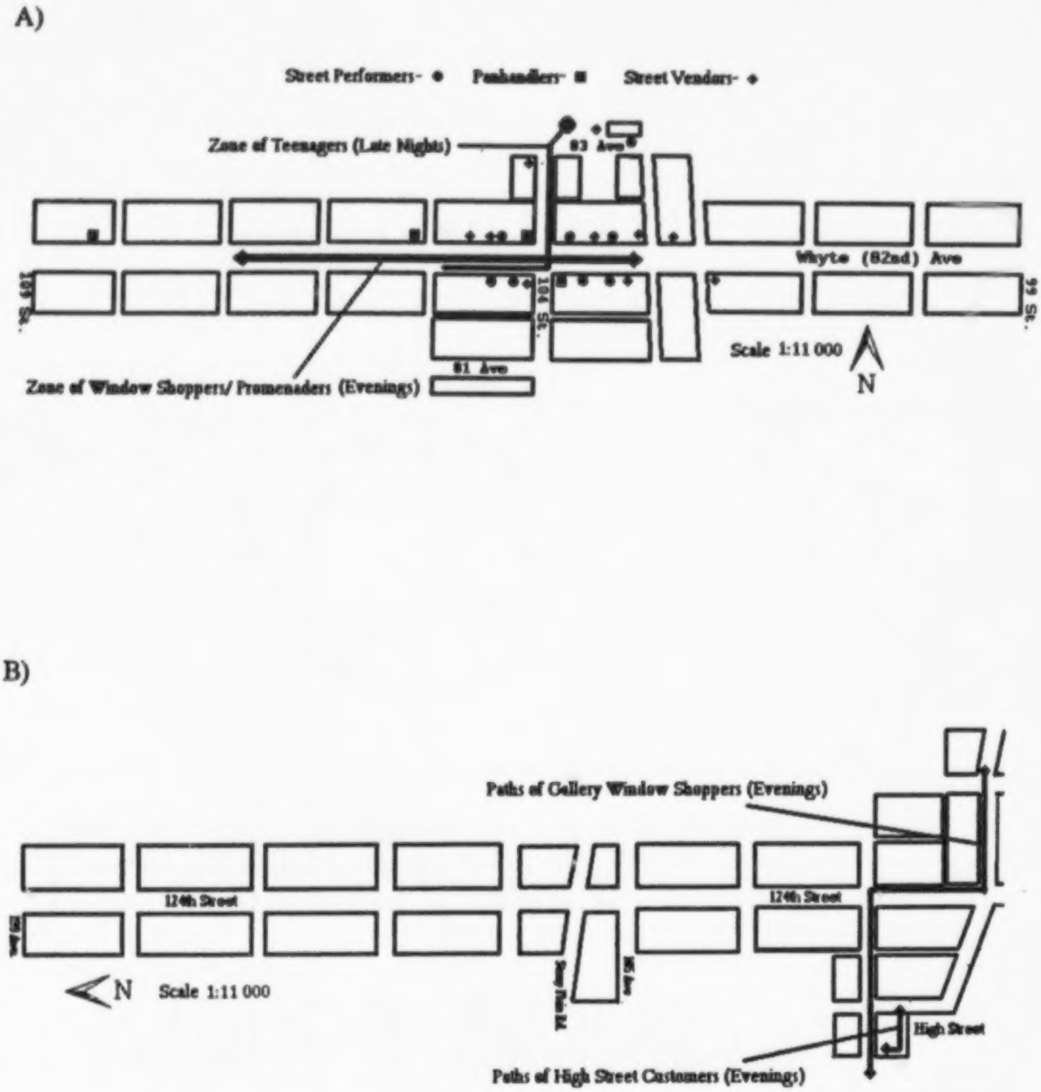

A)
Street Performers- ●
Panhandlers- ■
Street Vendors- ◆
Zone of Teenagers (Late Nights)
83 Ave
Whyte (82nd) Ave
109 St.
104 St.
99 St.
81 Ave
Zone of Window Shoppers/ Promenaders (Evenings)
Scale 1:11 000
N
B)
Paths of Gallery Window Shoppers (Evenings)
124th Street
124th Street
N
Scale 1:11 000
High Street
Paths of High Street Customers (Evenings)

Figure 6.4A-B: Paths and Locations of Pedestrians on A) Whyte Avenue, and B) 124th Street.

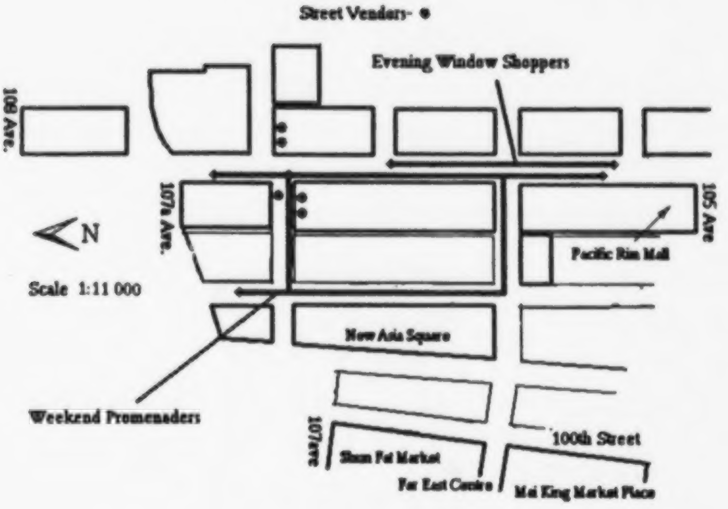

Street Vendors- ●
Evening Window Shoppers
108 Ave.
107a Ave.
105 Ave
N
Scale 1:11 000
Pacific Rim Mall
New Asia Square
Weekend Promenaders
100th Street
107ave
Shun Fat Market
Far East Centre
Mai King Market Place

Figure 6.5: Paths and Locations of Pedestrians on 97th Street.

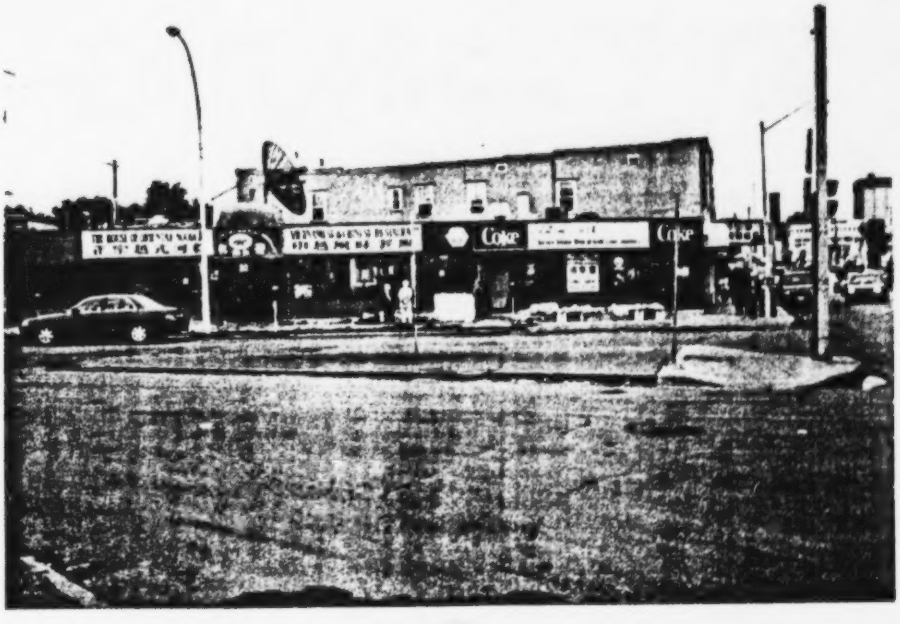


Figure 6.6: Street Vendors on 97th Street.

Intent-Trip Purposes and Plans

The presence of purposeful and planned trips is one way to determine the function of a shopping area. It can be argued that shopping areas that have achieved cultural significance will be used less for purchasing activities, in which the consumer knows what he/she intends to buy or do, and more for non-specific activities that have more of a social or cultural element to them. Some examples of these kinds of activities include browsing (randomly visiting stores, with no specific purpose), or "hanging out" (strolling, socialising on the street or in coffee shops).

It follows that persons who are engaged in non-specific activities would be less certain about their shopping plans than those engaged in specific activities. Therefore, areas that are dominated by non-specific activities (presumably vital areas such as Whyte Avenue and 97th Street) should show less specific shopping plans among its respondents as compared to areas dominated by specific activities. Questions one and four in the survey questionnaires dealt with trip purposes and shopping plans of the user population. The results were classified and grouped in Tables 6.1[28] and 6.2 below.

Table 6.1: Trip Purposes Given by Respondents (per cent).

	Whyte Ave.		124th St.		97thSt
Trip Purpose	Cust	Peds	Cust	Peds	Peds
Non-specific shopping	24	11	6	2	42
Other non-specific	35	52	38	17	11
Total Non-specific	59	63	44	19	53
Specific Shopping	34	24	50	57	42
Work	6	2	0	2	6
Other/Passing through	1	11	4	21	0
Number of Responses	68	46	47	42	53

Source: 1994 field survey.

Table 6.1 shows that "non-specific" trip purposes were dominant among the user population of Whyte Avenue (accounting for well over half of the responses), especially the category of "other non-specific" activities, which consist of responses such as "hanging out" or "killing time". The 124th Street area contrasts the Whyte Avenue findings. In that area, "specific shopping" activities accounted for just over half of the responses while non-specific activities remained lower (especially in the case of pedestrians). In the 97th Street area, Table 6.1 shows that non-specific activities (especially "shopping") dominated over specific trip purposes.

These results suggest that 124th Street shopping activity is more "purposeful"; that is, the area is used more as a shopping centre in the true sense: people intend to go there and buy certain goods or services. The data suggest that Whyte Avenue users are engaged more in other non-specific activities and 97th Street users are engaged in more non-specific shopping activities.

A Chi-square statistical comparison of Table 6.1 yield the following results:

H1: There are significant differences between *customer* populations in terms of specific, non-specific, and other activities.

The calculated Chi-square statistic is 3.51 with two degrees of freedom, which is less than the 95% critical value of 5.99. Therefore, differences are not significant at this level.

The same hypothesis, in regards to *pedestrian* responses yields a Chi-square statistic of 21.95 with four degrees of freedom, which is greater than the 95% critical value of 9.49. Therefore, differences are significant, and pedestrian shopping purposes on 124th Street are more specific than the other two areas.

Table 6.2: User Population Responses to Question Four: "Do you plan to visit more (stores)?

	Whyte Ave.		124th St.		97th St.
Shopping Plans	Cust	Peds	Cust	Peds	Peds
Yes	25	28	21	29	29
No	46	35	63	48	31
Total Specific Plans	71	63	84	77	70
Don't Know	14	2	2	0	6
Yes, but not sure	15	35	15	24	35
Total Non-specific	29	37	17	24	41
Number of Responses	65	46	48	42	52

Source: 1994 field survey.

Table 6.2 somewhat supports the trends seen in Table 6.1. Indeed, Table 6.2 does show slightly higher proportions of "specific" shopping plans among the 124th Street population, while the other two areas rate lower. As well, the prevalence of "no" answers (persons who did not plan to visit any more stores) in the 124th Street user population, especially among customers, suggests that single-purpose trips are more common in this area.

Chi-square statistical comparisons of Table 6.2 yield the following:

H2: There are significant differences between *customer* populations in terms of specific and non-specific shopping plans.

The calculated Chi-square statistic is 2.40 with one degree of freedom, which is less than the 95% critical value of 3.84. Therefore, differences are not significant at this level.

The same hypothesis, in regards to *pedestrian* responses, yields a Chi-square statistic of 3.05 with two degrees of freedom, which is less than the 95% critical value of 5.99. Therefore differences are not significant at any level and there is no statistical difference between areas in terms of shopping plans.

Action-Patterns and Purchases

The actual shopping activity of user populations should determine if activities in each centre are more social or economic. This section will use three variables of user activity (shown in Tables 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5) to attempt to verify the findings of the previous section. Firstly, a population engaged in single purpose trips or convenience trips (characteristic of economic or functional activity), would be more likely to have only visited one store, as compared to consumption sites where several store visits should be more likely (as part of browsing behaviour). In addition, shopping patterns in a functional centre should reflect the prevalence of single-purpose or convenience trips, while consumption areas should show shopping patterns consistent with browsing, either random shopping patterns, or patterns consistent with the habitus of a social group. Lastly, trip purchases should reflect the activity in the area. A functional centre should show a higher amount of purchases made, reflecting single purpose trips and the intention to buy. Conversely, social centres should show fewer trip purchases, or at least smaller purchases than a functional centre.

Table 6.3: Number of Stores Visited by Respondents (per cent).

	Whyte Ave.		124th St.		97th St.
# of Stores Visited	Cust	Peds	Cust	Peds	Peds
None/Passing Through	N/A	20	N/A	41	4
One	38	37	56	42	60
Two	16	15	25	12	30
Three	22	15	13	3	6
Four	14	7	4	2	0
Five and Over	10	6	2	0	0
Number of Responses	68	46	48	42	53

Source: 1994 field survey.

Table 6.3 shows large proportions of both customers and pedestrians visiting more than one store on Whyte Avenue. The table also suggests that browsing is very popular, as many persons had visited four or more stores. In regards to 124th Street, the table shows proportionately fewer people visiting more than one store, especially among pedestrians. The 97th Street area results show larger proportions visiting two stores, but very few respondents visited more than two.

Chi-square statistical comparisons of Table 6.3 yield the following:

H3: There are significant differences between *customer* populations in terms of persons visiting two or more stores.

The calculated Chi-square statistic is 3.68 with one degree of freedom, which is marginally less than the 95% critical value of 3.84. Therefore, differences are significant at this level, but at approximately 94%. More customers on Whyte Avenue visit two or more stores.

Using the same hypothesis in regards to *pedestrian* responses yields a Chi-square statistic of 7.58 with two degrees of freedom, which is greater than the 95% critical value of 5.99. Therefore differences are significant at this level, fewer pedestrians on 124th Street visited two or more stores than in the other areas.

Table 6.4: Store Visiting Patterns by User Populations (Per cent).

	Whyte Ave.		124th St.		97th St.
Pattern	Cust	Peds	Cust	Peds	Peds
Random	30	31	15	15	27
Store-type Specific	29	23	15	12	44
Goods Specific	24	35	17	3	22
Store Specific	17	15	54	62	2
Convenience	0	10	0	9	4
Number of Responses	66	39	48	34	45

Source: 1994 field survey.

Table 6.4[29] strongly supports the trends shown in the previous table. Whyte Avenue and 97th Street are shown as areas where random, store-type specific, and goods specific shopping patterns are common, and 124th Street is an area where store specific shopping patterns dominate.

Chi-square statistical comparisons of Table 6.4 yield the following:

H4: There are significant differences between customer populations in terms of random, store-type and goods specific, and single purpose (store specific and convenience) shopping patterns.

The calculated Chi-square statistic is 17.95 with two degrees of freedom, which is greater than the 95% critical value of 5.99. Therefore, differences are significant at this level.

Using the same hypothesis in regards to pedestrian responses yields a Chi-square statistic of 39.75 with four degrees of freedom, which is much greater than the 95% critical value of 9.49. Differences are significant at this level. In both cases, the 124th Street population has statistically more store-specific shopping than the other areas.

Data on trip purchases from Table 6.5[30] below is inconclusive. One would expect that, in general, a "browsing" population would tend to spend less on a shopping trip than a population engaged in single purpose trips. However, this was not the case. The patterns shown in the previous tables were not reflected in the purchasing patterns of the user populations. Instead, a general pattern is shown where the vast majority of the user population in each area (with the exception of 124th Street customers), spends less than twenty dollars on trip purchases.

Table 6.5: Estimated Value of Trip Purchases Made by Respondents (adjusted for "none yet" shoppers).

	Whyte Ave.		124th St.		97th St.
Purchase Value	Cust	Peds	Cust	Peds	Peds
None	24	30	15	43	27
under $10	24	44	42	33	44
$10-$20	25	27	10	13	22
$20-$50	18	3	17	10	2
$50-$100	5	5	15	0	4
over $100	2	0	2	0	0
# of Responses	68	39	48	30	45

Source: 1994 field survey.

SYMBOLIC CONSUMPTION

As sites of shopper identification, consumption sites are areas where the appropriation of symbolic commodities takes place. Although the phenomenon of symbolic consumption itself would be impossible to measure, activity related to symbolic consumption, in terms of people's shopping activity, may be able to be measured. The last chapter discussed the provision of "expressive" and "basic" (or economic) goods and services by the retail structure of each study area, with 97th Street and Whyte Avenue having a large part of their structure devoted to providing goods symbolic of the habitus (tastes, leisure pursuits) of their user populations. This section will discuss and compare the amounts of "symbolic" or "expressive" activity occurring in each study area by measuring the amount of customers patronizing stores providing symbolic goods and services versus the number of persons entering other establishments (indicative of functional or economic activity).

Areas which are considered functional should have more (if not most) of their activity concentrated in store types indicative of functional or convenience behaviour. Conversely, consumption sites should have most of their activity focused on businesses that are more indicative of symbolic behaviour. The data for this test was collected through observational techniques described earlier. At each observation "station" (Appendix 2) the number of persons entering a store or business were tallied for a ten minute period. Observations were grouped according to time period and time of the week in the same manner as those on vitality were earlier in the chapter. The results of observed store activity are summarised in Appendix 3. Tables 6.6, 6.7 and 6.8 below show the results for the top 25% of scores in each area. In order not to overweight establishments that are open longer hours, the maximum average number of customers tallied for each store in any time period was used in table construction.

Table 6.6 shows that, among the most active businesses (the top 25% in rank) on Whyte Avenue, 13.1% of the total number of customers observed entered businesses characteristic of functional behaviour. Among *all* businesses observed on Whyte Avenue, the proportion was 25.2%. For 124th Street (Table 6.7), 43.7% of customers in the busiest businesses, and 50.6% of all observed entrants, entered functional-type stores. In the 97th Street area (Table 6.8), these figures were 6.8% of the busiest establishments and 23.8% of the total number of observed establishments respectively.

Chi-square statistical comparisons of Table 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6 yield the following:

H5: There are significant differences between areas in the total number of persons entering stores characteristic of "functional" and "expressive" activity.

The calculated Chi-square statistic is 65.06 with two degrees of freedom, which is greater than the 95% critical value of 5.99. Therefore, differences are significant at this level.

The same hypothesis, in regards to the top 25% stores in rank for each area, yields a chi-square statistic of 102.36 with two degrees of freedom, which is much greater than the 95% critical value of 5.99. Therefore differences are very significant at this level.

These results indicate substantially larger amounts of functional or economic activity taking place on 124th Street as opposed to the other areas. In fact, when total activity is measured, just over half of it can be considered functional. By contrast, functional activity was responsible for under 30% of total activity for Whyte Avenue and 97th Street, indicating their reliance on symbolic consumption.

Table 6.6: Largest 25% Businesses by Customer Entrants on Whyte Avenue, Grouped by Business Type, Summer 1994.

Business Types	Functional	# of Custs	Expressive	# of Custs
Food[31]	(4)	(39)		
General Merchandise				
Department Stores	1	6		
General Stores	1	16		
Others				
Automobile Group	1	6		
Apparel & Accessories			5	30.5
Hardware, Furniture & Appliances	0			
"Other" Retail				
Others	2	7		
Handicraft & Gift			8	57
Book Stores			2	15
Music, Record & Video			3	20
Cycle & Outdoor Shops			3	17
Finance	3	21		
Community Services	0			
Personal Services				
Others	0			
Restaurants			3	26
Coffee Shops			6	41
Pubs			12	239
Fast Food	2	11		
Businesses & Services	0			
Miscellaneous	0			
Total of Top 25% Scores	10	67	41	445.5
Percentage of Activity		13.1 %		86.9 %
Total of all Activity.		212.0		599.0
Percentage of Total Activity.		25.2 %		70.8 %

Source: 1994 field survey.

Table 6.7: Largest 25% Businesses by Customer Entrants in the 124th Street Area, Grouped by Business Type, Summer 1994.

Business Types	Functional	# of Custs	Expressive	# of Custs
Food	1	3.5		
General Merchandise				
Department Stores				
General Stores	2	11.5		
Others				
Automobile Group	2	11.5		
Apparel & Accessories			4	19
Hardware, Furniture & Appliances				
Hardware				
Furniture				
Interior			2	8
"Other" Retail				
Others	2	8		
Handicrafts and Gifts			1	4
Flower Shops			2	7.5
Cycle and Outdoor			0	
Book Stores			0	
Music and Video			0	
Finance	1	7		
Community Services	0			
Art Galleries			1	5.5
Personal Services				
Others	0			
Restaurants			5	28.5
Coffee Shops			3	19
Pubs	1	12		
Hair & Skin Salons			0	
Fast Food	2	9		
Businesses & Services	2	8.5		
Miscellaneous	0			
Total of Top 25% Scores.	12	71	20	91.5
Percentage of Activity		43.7%		56.3%
Total of all Activity		134.5		131.0
Percentage of Total Activity		50.6%		49.3%

Table 6.8: Largest 25% Businesses by Customer Entrants in the 97th Street Area Summer, 1994.

Business Types	Functional	# of Custs	Expressive	# of Custs
Food				
Bakery Goods			2	11.5
Meat & Grocery			3	43.5
Meat Markets			1	5.5
Herbalists				
General Food				
Supermarket			2	44
Non-East Asian	1	8		
General Merchandise				
Department Stores			1	4.5
General Stores				
Automobile Group	0			
Apparel & Accessories	0			
Hardware, Furniture & Appliances				
Hardware	0			
Furniture & Appliance	0			
"Other" Retail				
Others	1	6.5		
Book Stores & Video			3	13.5
Gift Shops			0	
Jewellers			0	
Finance	0			
Community Services	0			
Personal Services				
Others	0			
Restaurants			7	70.5
Hair & Skin Care			0	
Businesses & Services	0			
Miscellaneous[32]	(1)	12.5	(1)	12.5
Total of Top 25% Scores	2	14.5	19	198
Percentage of Activity		6.8 %		93.1%
Total of all Activity.		77.7		247.2
Percentage of Total Activity.		23.8%		75.7%

Source: 1994 field survey.

SUMMARY

This chapter has examined the occurrences of social centrality (as indicated by the vitality of crowds), non-purposive shopping behaviour, and symbolic consumption in the three study areas. It was found, that pedestrian size, continuity, and behaviour on Whyte Avenue and 97th Street implicated these areas as vital areas, which entails a certain amount of social centrality. The 124th Street area was judged on all accounts not to be vital, indicative of a more functional use.

In regards to shopping behaviour, Whyte Avenue and 97th Street showed statistically higher amounts of multiple-visit and non-specific shopping purposes among their user populations than did 124th Street. Whyte Avenue and 97th Street were found to be areas in which activities more indicative of recreational shopping, browsing, and *flanerie* (loitering, aimless strolling), random shopping, and multi-purpose trips, were more common. However, data on shopping plans showed no significant differences between area populations. This unexpected result could be due to the categorisation of responses to question eight, which was difficult because of the generality of the question. Data on trip purchases also showed no distinctive patterns between area user populations. This would indicate that the assumption that larger purchases are made in functional centres is false, and perhaps suggests that social centrality in a shopping area has no effect on the amount an individual will buy.

Finally, the large majority of the shopping activity observed on Whyte Avenue and 97th Street was geared towards the appropriation of symbolic or "expressive" goods and services indicative of user population habitus. This is consistent with their use as consumption sites by distinct lifestyle groups. By contrast, 124th Street showed significantly lower amounts of this type of activity and a higher dependence on functional activity indicating a predominantly economic function.

Overall, this chapter concludes that the activity which takes place on Whyte Avenue and 97th Street, notably pedestrian behaviour indicative of vitality and social centrality, more frequent occurrences of "browsing"behaviour (non-specific shopping trips and purposes and multi-purpose trips), and symbolic consumption, are characteristic of consumption sites as defined in the literature review. The 124th Street area, by contrast, is a "functional" space in terms of its utilitarian use. This concurs with the findings of Chapter Five, where 124th Street was labelled as a "typical commercial ribbon".

CHAPTER SEVEN
USE AND PERCEPTION

OBJECTIVE

The two previous chapters have shown how Whyte Avenue and 97th Street differ from 124th Street in terms of retail structure and shopping activity. Whyte Avenue and 97th Street were considered specialised areas of habitus activity, and areas of non-purposive shopping behaviour, while 124th Street was considered to be a typical commercial ribbon which relied on purposive shopping behaviour. This chapter will examine the perceptions and images that the user populations have of their respective areas. The fifth objective of the thesis is to determine whether each area is perceived as a functional shopping area (where goods and convenience concerns are important), or as a social area (where social networks and self-identification dominate), or both.

As well, this chapter inquires into user perceptions in regards to the "personality" or "essence" of place: whether certain descriptions of the place given by the user population are more consistent within each area than they are between them. As well, it will inquire into how events that occur in each area assist in the projection of an area's image.

There will be two main sections in this chapter. The first will focus on the "image" of the areas studied as described by user populations and by events and protests that are held in each area. The second section will compare user perception of each area with reference to Eyles' "senses of place" and other associative descriptions. This will investigate whether these areas are perceived by their user populations as areas of *social* importance or *functional* importance.

IMAGE

This section will investigate the "image" of each shopping area. Its purpose is to determine whether or not each area has consistency in its projected and perceived image, evident in user descriptions and in events which take place in the area.

The image or "personality" of stores has been considered an important factor in consumer behaviour for several decades (see Martineau, 1958; Grubb and Grathwol, 1967; and Bellanger et al, 1976). Especially important is the relationship between store image or personality, and self-image. It has been shown in several studies that consumers are more likely to shop repeatedly in stores that are consistent with their image of themselves (Bellanger *et al.*, 1976; Dolich, 1969). The two following sub-sections will apply this general concept to each shopping area. The image of each area will be examined through questionnaire responses and through the festivals, parades, and protests that are held in the area, and contribute to the overall image that each area projects.

Perceived Image in User Populations

The perceived images of the study areas were obtained through an open-ended question (Question #10) in the survey questionnaire. Respondents were asked to describe the area in their own words. The intention, in this case, was to investigate the notion that sense of place (in terms of the "essence" of what the place is) would be greater in an area of social importance. Table 7.4 shows the most popular descriptions (mentioned by more than 5% of the respondents) in each area[33].

Table 7.4: Common User Population Descriptions (Frequency and per cent).

Whyte Cust	Whyte Peds	124th Cust	124th Peds	97th Peds
"Funky" 13 (9.0%)	Vital 30 (23.4%)	Quiet 6 (7.5%)	Quiet 10 (10%)	Busy 19 (21.4%)
Vital 11 (7.6%)	Unique 11 (8.6%)	Unique 6 (7.5%)	Friendly 7 (7%)	Asian 9 (10.1%)
Unique 10 (6.9%)	Eclectic 9 (7.0%)	Friendly 6 (7.5%)	Classy 6 (6%)	Community 7(8%)
Eclectic 10 (6.9%)	"Funky" 7 (5.5%)		Vital 6 (6%)	
			Older 5 (5%)	

Source: 1994 field survey.

What is notable in the Whyte Avenue area is a large amount of consensus between customers and pedestrians in terms of the same four types of descriptions: "funky"[34], vital, unique/different, and eclectic. On 124th Street, consensus is less, only "quiet" and "friendly" accounted for more than five per cent of responses in both populations. Although there is only one population sample to compare, descriptions of 97th Street by the pedestrian population show a large consensus. Three descriptions ("busy","Asian",and "close-knit/community") account for almost 40% of all descriptions of the area.

Festivals, Parades, and Protests

Another part of, and contributor to, the image of a shopping centre are the events (festivals, parades, and protests) which are held in the area. Shields (1992) has noted that contemporary shopping centres try to cultivate social centrality by holding festivals and community events. It therefore can be suggested that such events can form a significant part of the overall image of a shopping centre. In attracting events, a shopping centre is, knowingly or unknowingly, appealing to distinct groups of people who identify with the events which occur.

Whyte Avenue Events

The Whyte Avenue area holds a number of regular festivals and parades during the spring, summer and autumn. Among the more important of these are the Fringe festival, and the Silly Summer parade.

The Fringe festival (Figure 7.1) bills itself as the largest alternative theatre festival in North America. It consists of over one hundred productions whose topics are seen as avant garde, unusual, or humorous. This theme can be seen in its brochures and advertisements (Figure 7.2). Held every summer in late August since 1982, the festival has become hugely successful and is often credited with being one of the major causes of revitalisation in the Whyte Avenue area.

The Canada Day Silly Summer parade has been a yearly event in Old Strathcona since 1985. The parade is billed as "the parade of nonsense" and the focus is on fun. Every year the parade has a new and unusual theme (see Figure 7.3). Most of the parade participants are Whyte Avenue businesses (Figure 7.4), further allying the retail structure with a "fun" image.

In these two events, one can see an image projected which is consistent with the area and its people as a whole: the images of fun, vibrancy, carnivalesque street life, the unusual, and avant garde art. The images presented in these events are consistent with the perceptions that the user population have of the area, which had dominant themes of vitality, being "funky" or "hip", uniqueness, and eclecticism.

The Whyte avenue area is also a major protest area in Edmonton, and is arguably the most popular non-governmental protest site in the city (a testament to its social centrality)[35]. Between September 1993 and September 1994, this area was the site for a gay and lesbian awareness rally (see Figure 7.5), grassroots marijuana legalisation protests, and rallies for the rights of bicyclists. Informal interviews were conducted with the organisers of two of these rallies in an effort to see how much the "image" of the Whyte Avenue area influenced the decision to hold rallies at that site.

The co-chair of PRIDE of Edmonton (organisers of Gay and Lesbian awareness week), stated the following reasons for locating their rally at Gazebo Park and Whyte Avenue:

-Easy accessibility to the park in terms of booking and its proximity to Whyte Avenue.

-Exposure to large numbers of people (Saturday shoppers).

-The area in general being friendly to their cause in terms of its Arts orientation and the fact that many local businesses support events and advertise in local gay and lesbian newspapers.

The organiser of the "Grassroots" protest had somewhat similar responses. His chief reasons for locating at Gazebo Park included:

-The park is the "natural place" because it is a youth gathering, and a place where youths use marijuana often.

-It is the "counter-culture hub" of Edmonton in that the Chinook and Princess theatres are nearby, as well as stores that sell "dissenting information" where people read about "subversive" ideas.

-Accessibility to many people, and therefore the media.

-Far away from downtown and police.

The two common themes in both location strategies included the accessibility to

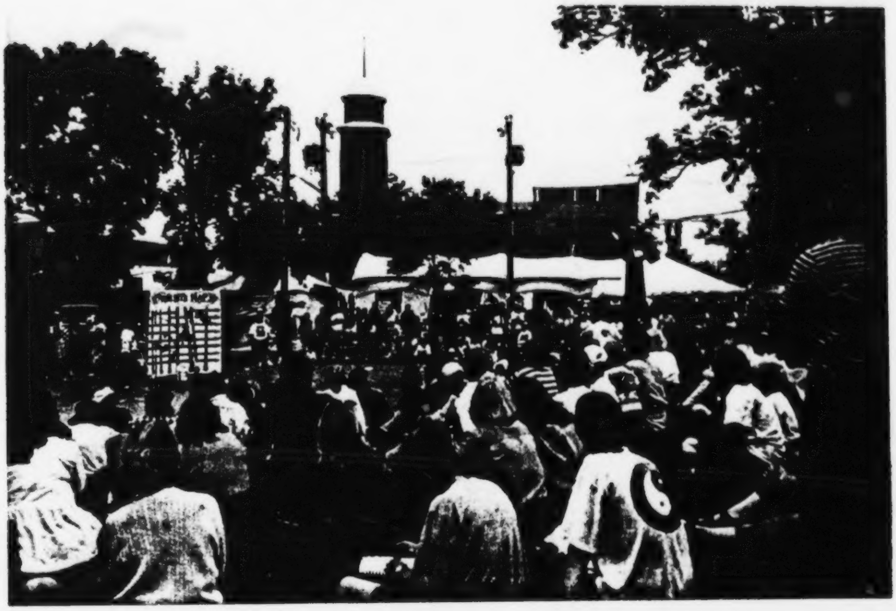
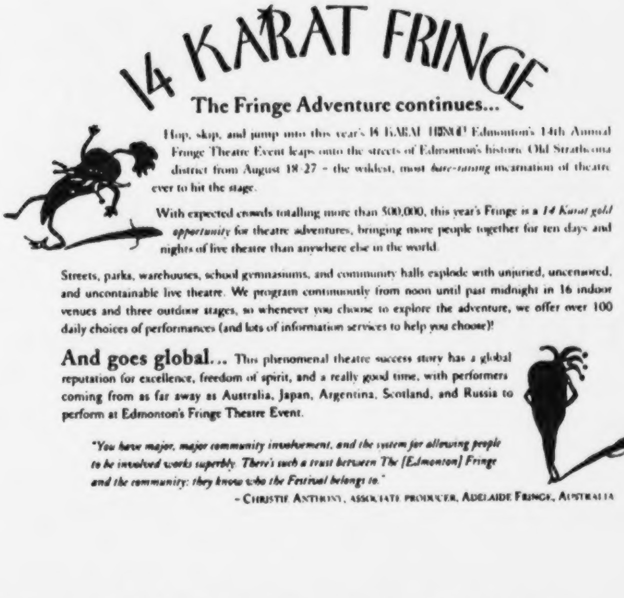


Figure 7.1: The Fringe Festival, Gazebo Park, 1994.



14 KARAT FRINGE

The Fringe Adventure continues...

Hop, skip, and jump into this year's 14 KARAT FRINGE! Edmonton's 14th Annual Fringe Theatre Event leaps onto the streets of Edmonton's historic Old Strathcona district from August 18-27 – the wildest, most *hair-raising* incarnation of theatre ever to hit the stage.

With expected crowds totalling more than 500,000, this year's Fringe is a *14 Karat gold opportunity* for theatre adventures, bringing more people together for ten days and nights of live theatre than anywhere else in the world.

Streets, parks, warehouses, school gymnasiums, and community halls explode with unjuried, uncensored, and uncontainable live theatre. We program continuously from noon until past midnight in 16 indoor venues and three outdoor stages, so whenever you choose to explore the adventure, we offer over 100 daily choices of performances (and lots of information services to help you choose)!

And goes global... This phenomenal theatre success story has a global reputation for excellence, freedom of spirit, and a really good time, with performers coming from as far away as Australia, Japan, Argentina, Scotland, and Russia to perform at Edmonton's Fringe Theatre Event.

"You have major, major community involvement, and the system for allowing people to be involved works superbly. There's such a trust between The [Edmonton] Fringe and the community: they know who the Festival belongs to."

– Christie Anthony, associate producer, Adelaide Fringe, Australia

EDMONTON
FRINGE THEATRE
EVENT

The **Edmonton Fringe Theatre Event**, the largest alternative theatre festival in North America, explodes into Old Strathcona August 18-27, 1995. We invite you to join over 1,500 artists and 500,000 happy Festival goers for ten days of live theatre programmed continuously from noon to midnight in 17 indoor venues. Enjoy a wide diversity of theatrical performances from talented actors from around the world! There's also lots of outdoor performances... something for everyone!

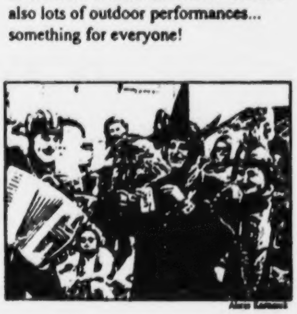


Figure 7.2: Advertisements for the Fringe festival.

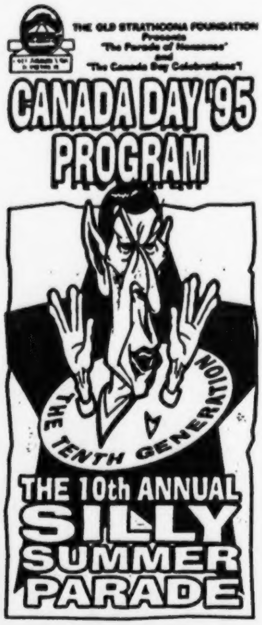

THE OLD STRATHCONA FOUNDATION
CANADA DAY '95
PROGRAM
THE TENTH GENERATION
THE 10th ANNUAL
SILLY
SUMMER
PARADE

Figure 7.3: Brochure for the Silly Summer Parade 1995, featuring "Star Trek" theme.

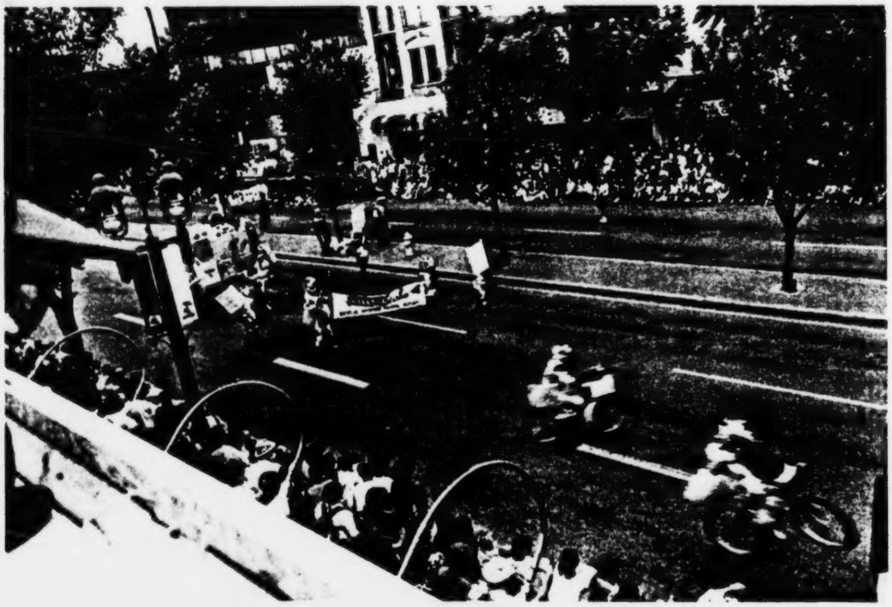


Figure 7.4: The Silly Summer Parade 1994, with "Cows" theme.

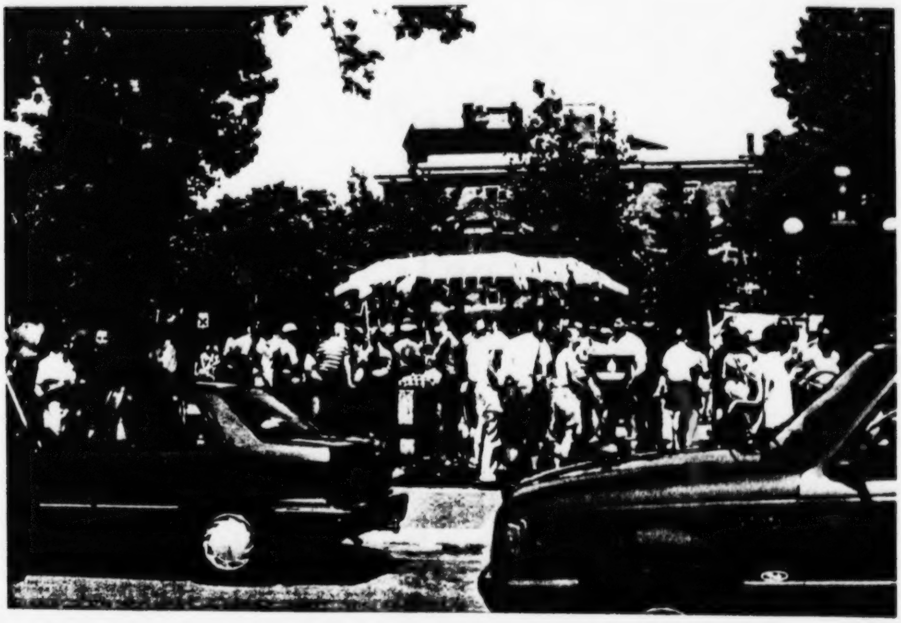


Figure 7.5: Gay and Lesbian Awareness Day, Gazebo Park, 1995.

crowds (i.e. a vital place), and an identification with an eclectic retail structure in terms of the people who patronise and run businesses in the area, who are seen as "like-minded" or at least tolerant.

The image projected from these rallies tends to support the overall image of the area, in terms of its eclecticism and its variety and tolerance of different people and goods. The fact that these events occur in this area, and not in another commercial area, assists the projected image of a vital place, where things happen.

124th Street Events

The 124th Street area hosted only one parade/festival in 1994, the Cariwest Caribbean festival and parade which has been held on the Canada Day long weekend since 1993 (Figure 7.6). In Figure 7.7, one can see that the image projected by this festival is not at all consistent with either user population perceptions or the retail structure (Chapter Five) of the area, nor does it reflect any hobbies or interests seen in the user population, in Chapter Four. As a result, this festival does not reinforce the area as a social place in the minds of consumers, as they do not identify with it. As well, brochures promoting the festival do not even mention the area, except in address, and none of the local merchants sponsor the festival.

97th Street Events

The 97th Street area is host to the Lunar New Year Lion Dance Parade. The festival celebrates the new year in the Chinese and Vietnamese lunar calenders, one of the most important days of the year in East Asian culture. The Lion Dance Parade is a good luck ceremony for merchants who light firecrackers at the lion's arrival to their store front (Figure 7.8b). The event helps to enhance the area's East Asian image (which was noted in user population descriptions), and its centrality to the East Asian population of Edmonton. The 1995 Festival was sponsored by seven businesses in the study area as well as the Avenue of Nations Business Association.

GENERAL USER PERCEPTIONS

Now that "image" aspects of the study areas have been investigated, this section will explore *how* these areas are perceived by their user populations. One can argue that a vital area or consumption site, such as Whyte Avenue or 97th Street, should appeal to its users on many levels, functional and social. In terms of general user perceptions, these type of areas should imbue their users with a sense of place more akin to their social aspects than to their simple economic function. Conversely, more functional centres such as 124th Street (established in earlier chapters) should be seen mostly in those terms (such as convenience, prices, retail, and physical aspects) by their user populations. This section will deal with this issue by testing Eyles' "senses of place" categories, introduced in the literature review, and by associative descriptions given by respondents.

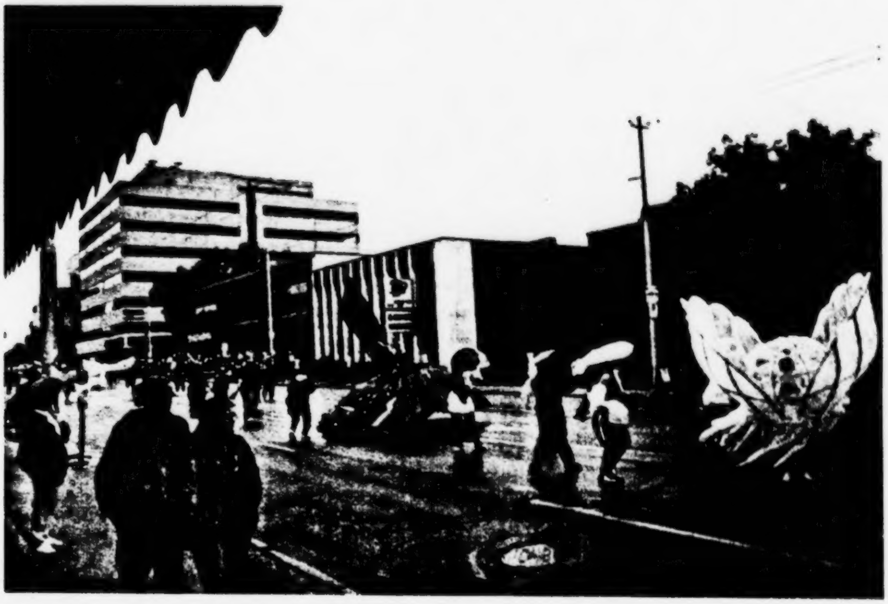
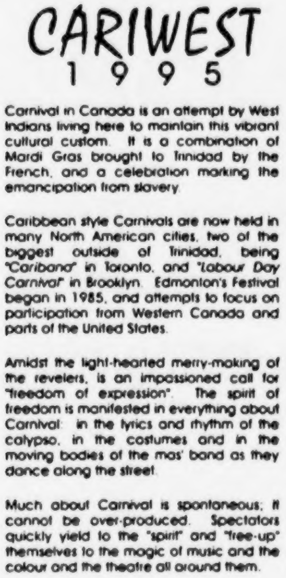


Figure 7.6: The Cariwest Parade, 1994.



CARIWEST
1995

Carnival in Canada is an attempt by West Indians living here to maintain this vibrant cultural custom. It is a combination of Mardi Gras brought to Trinidad by the French, and a celebration marking the emancipation from slavery.

Caribbean style Carnivals are now held in many North American cities, two of the biggest outside of Trinidad, being *"Caribana"* in Toronto, and *"Labour Day Carnival"* in Brooklyn. Edmonton's Festival began in 1985, and attempts to focus on participation from Western Canada and parts of the United States.

Amidst the light-hearted merry-making of the revelers, is an impassioned call for "freedom of expression". The spirit of freedom is manifested in everything about Carnival: in the lyrics and rhythm of the calypso, in the costumes and in the moving bodies of the mas' band as they dance along the street.

Much about Carnival is spontaneous; it cannot be over-produced. Spectators quickly yield to the "spirit" and "free-up" themselves to the magic of music and the colour and the theatre all around them.

Figure 7.7: Cariwest 1995 brochure.

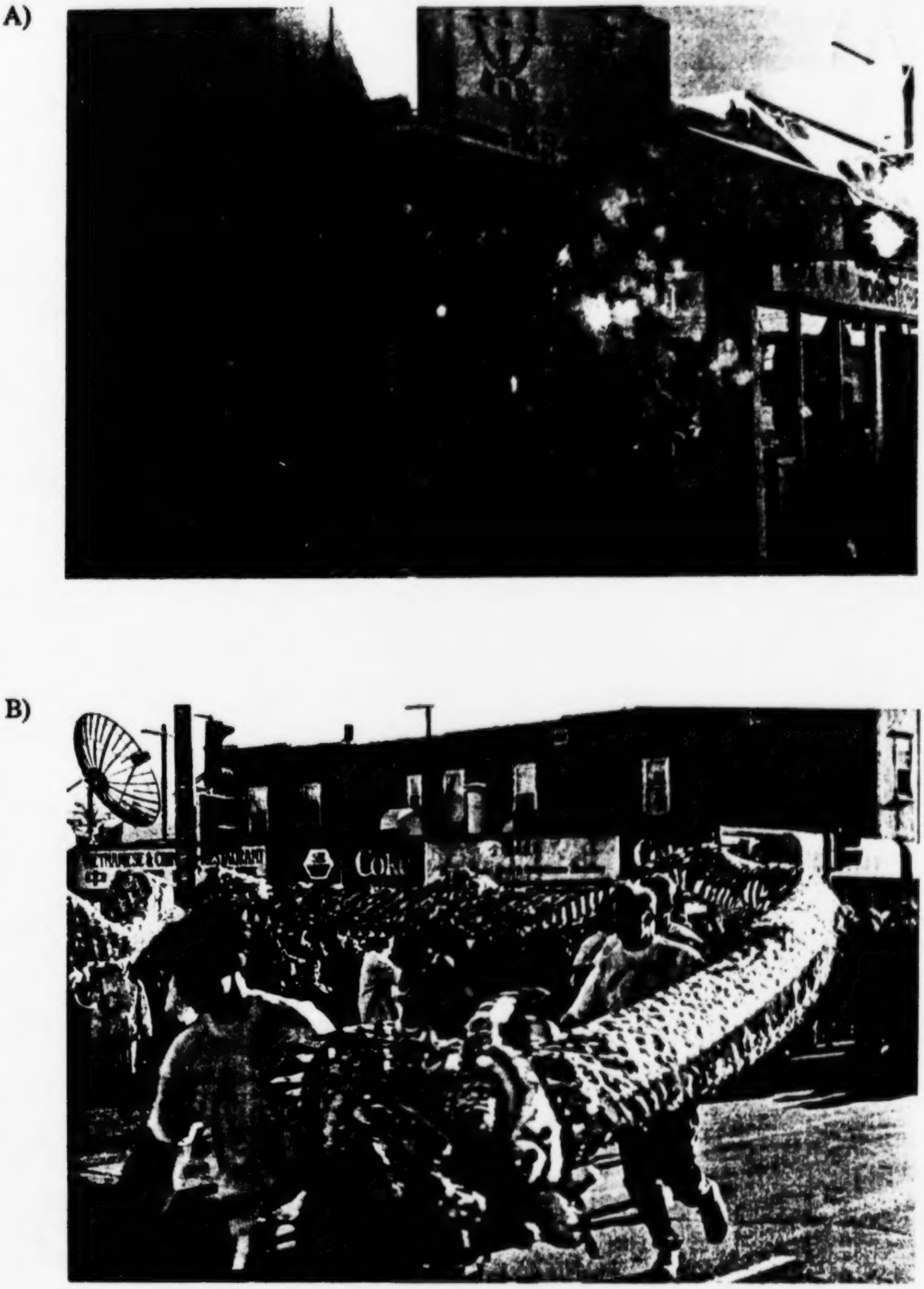


Figure 7.8A & B: Lion Dance Parade, February 1995.

Senses of Place

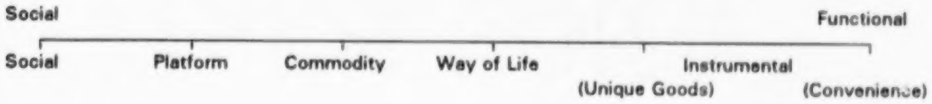
Question eight in the survey questionnaire (see Appendix 1) consisted of thirty-four statements related to why respondents choose to shop on that particular street. Respondents were asked to indicate "yes"or "no" for each statement as an important reason as to why they chose to come to the area.

These statements can be divided into six groups on the basis of Eyles "Senses of Place", ways in which people can be attached to territory, discussed in the literature review. In this case, five of the ten categories suggested by Eyles apply easily to shopping areas, these are:

1. *Social sense of place-* The place as an area of social meaning and networks, consisting of statements one, 21, and 28 in question eight of the questionnaire.
2. *Platform sense of place-* The place as an area of self-identification (in this case relating to the "atmosphere" of the place), consisting of statements nine, 16, 17, 20, 27, 29, and 31.
3. *Commodity sense of place-* The place as a provider of an ideal environment (here in providing other amenities besides shopping)- consisting of statements four, five, six, seven, 23, and 32.
4. *Way of Life sense of place-* The place as home to many facets of the individuals life, consisting of questions 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 24, 26, and 30.
5. *Instrumental sense of place-* The place as a means to an end, (which can be divided into two groups: statements two, 18, 33, 34 which deal with the provision of unique goods and services, and statements three, eight, 10, 11, 22, and 25, which deal with convenience aspects of the area.

These five groups can be put on a spectrum indicating the degree to which they are either socially or functionally oriented.

Figure 7.9: Senses of Place Spectrum.



One would expect that consumption sites, due to their social and leisure function, would imbue greater amounts of social, platform, and commodity sense of place in their user populations while functional areas would show more instrumental and way of life sense of place in theirs. The results of the survey questionnaire were classified and grouped in Table 7.2 below.

Table 7.2: User Population Responses to Question Eight, Grouped into "Senses of Place", Proportion of "yes" Answers.

	Whyte Ave.		124th St.		97th St.
Senses of Place	Cust	Peds	Cust	Peds	Peds
Social	70.8	77.5	64.6	66.7	45.9
Platform	85.8	84.8	70.2	72.8	57.3
Commodity	74.7	83.0	42.7	69.1	40.0
Way of Life	29.1	39.7	24.8	30.0	24.6
Instrumental Retail	74.7	72.3	56.8	69.0	68.4
Instrumental	54.9	56.2	49.0	52.8	52.3
Total Average	62.4	66.7	48.4	57.6	46.0

Source: 1994 field survey.

In regards to Whyte Avenue, Table 7.2 shows that platform sense of place rated the highest, followed by commodity, social, and instrumental (retail). This indicated that people, on average, shop in the area because of its atmosphere, its amenities other than shops, the social networks associated with the area, and because of the unique goods the area provides. As well, all categories were rated higher on Whyte Avenue than any other area, indicating that the area is perceived more favourably in general.

Similar results are shown for 124th Street, where platform sense of place rated highest, followed by social, instrumental (retail), and commodity senses of place. This suggests that users shop in this area because of its atmosphere, social networks, unique goods, and other amenities.

In contrast, 97th Street contradicts the findings of the other areas. The overall average for all categories was quite low, indicating that the area is not viewed very favourably in general. In this area, instrumental (retail) rated highest, followed by platform and instrumental (convenience) senses of place. All other categories rated very low. These results suggest that the area is chosen by its users because of its specialised goods, atmosphere, and convenience.

Overall, data from Table 7.2 did not show the expected results. While Whyte Avenue rated highly in social as opposed to functional senses of place, so did 124th Street, which was expected to rate higher functionally. The 97th Street area tended to rate higher in functional senses of place than social ones, where the reverse was expected. This could suggest either a methodological problem in the "senses of place" approach utilised above, or a discrepancy between user population perceptions of an area and the activity that actually occurs.

Associative Descriptions

In addition to "senses of place" categories, questions ten and eleven of the questionnaire were designed to investigate how these areas are perceived generally by their user populations. In this case, open-ended questions in which respondents were asked to describe the area, and what they would change about it, were used. It was argued that, in general, user populations in social spaces would tend to describe the area with more social (such as the type of people or social groups who frequent the area) terms, or image-laden (descriptive of "atmosphere" or "personality") terms. Conversely, it was felt that a functional centre would be described more in terms describing their utility, i.e. about physical aspects (such as parking availability) or the retail structure of the area. The questionnaire results are shown in Tables 7.3 and 7.4 below.

Table 7.3: General User Population Descriptions Derived From Question #10 (per cent).

	Whyte Ave.		124th St.		97th St.
Description	Cust	Peds	Cust	Peds	Peds
People	27.8	22.7	12.5	20.0	25.8
Atmosphere	49.3	50.8	38.8	35.0	30.3
Total Social	77.1	73.5	51.3	55.0	56.1
Retail	14.5	9.4	27.6	20.0	18.0
Physical	6.3	7.8	16.3	17.0	21.3
Total Functional	20.8	17.2	43.9	37.0	39.3
Other	2.1	9.4	5.0	8.0	4.5
# of Descriptions	144	128	80	100	89

Source: 1994 field survey.

Table 7.3 shows that social descriptions are more common on Whyte Avenue, especially in regards to "atmosphere" characterisations. The 124th Street and 97th Street areas rated higher on functional responses regarding retail structure (on 124th Street), and physical aspects (on 97th Street).

A Chi-square statistical test of Table 7.3 yields the following results:

H5: There are significant differences between *customer* populations in terms of social, functional, and other user descriptions.

The resulting chi-square statistic is 15.77 with 2 degrees of freedom. This is greater than the 95% critical value of 5.99. Therefore, the differences are significant at this level. Whyte Avenue is described more often in social terms by customers than 124th Street.

The same test using *pedestrian* populations yields a chi-square statistic of 16.92 with four degrees of freedom, which is greater than the 95% critical value of 9.49. Therefore, differences are significant at this level, meaning Whyte Avenue is described more often in social terms than the other two study areas.

Table 7.4: General User Population Comments Regarding Change Derived From Question #11: "If you could, what would you change about this area?" (Per cent).

	Whyte Ave.		124th St.		97th St.
Change Groups	Cust	Peds	Cust	Peds	Peds
People	18.4	15.5	0	2.1	9.4
Atmosphere	10.5	1.7	4.1	14.9	7.6
Total Social	28.9	17.2	4.1	17.0	17.0
Retail	14.5	19.0	28.6	19.1	3.8
Physical	29.0	24.1	36.7	36.2	54.7
Total Functional	43.5	43.1	65.3	55.3	58.5
Traffic	10.5	20.7	14.3	2.1	5.7
Other	1.3	3.5	0	2.1	3.8
Nothing	15.8	15.5	16.3	23.4	15.1
# of Responses	76	58	49	47	53

Source: 1994 field survey.

Table 7.4 shows similar results to Table 7.3 in that Whyte Avenue users tend to express fewer functionally oriented complaints than the user in other two areas. However, socially oriented complaints were far fewer in Table 7.4. Whyte Avenue complaints tended to focus more on physical aspects, and traffic in the case of pedestrians. In the 124th Street and 97th Street areas, comments were more oriented towards physical problems perceived by the respondents. This is particularly true on 97th Street, where parking was a major complaint.

A Chi-square statistical test of Table 7.4 yields the following results:

H6: There are significant differences between *customer* populations in terms of socially and functionally oriented changes desired in each study area.

The resulting chi-square statistic is 12.42 with 1 degree of freedom. This is greater than the 95% critical value of 3.84. Therefore, the differences are significant at this level. Changes desired by Whyte Avenue customers are more often social, and less often functional than on 124th Street.

The same test using *pedestrian* populations yields a Chi-square statistic of 0.41 with two degrees of freedom, which is less than the 95% critical value of 5.99. Therefore, differences are not significant at this level. There are no significant differences between changes desired by pedestrians in each area.

The results from Tables 5.3 and 5.4 suggest that 124th Street and 97th Street are described and judged in functional terms by their user populations. By contrast, Whyte Avenue for the most part, is more often described and judged on social terms by its user population

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has examined the perceptions of each study area by their constituent user populations with regard to their use as social or functional. It was argued that areas deemed "consumption sites" in the previous chapter, because they are vital places and appeal to distinct social groups, would be perceived as being more "social" and less "functional" places. Using Eyles' "senses of place" generalisations, this was found not to be the case. Using general associative descriptions, this was found to be true only in the case of Whyte Avenue. It would appear that the 97th Street area is perceived by its user population as a functional space, not a social one as expected.

This chapter also examined the image or "personality" of each area and its consistency in the descriptions by their user populations. It was argued that, given the tendency for consumers to shop regularly in stores that are consistent with their own self-image, vital areas which appeal to distinct social groups should have a more consistent image among their user population and in the events that each area sponsors or attracts. This was judged to be the case (although no statistical tests were possible), in that consistent themes were found in the perceptions of the Whyte Avenue and 97th Street user populations. In addition, events occurring in both areas fit in with the general image projected by the area. By contrast, 124th Street lacked for the most part a common theme among the descriptions given by its user population. As well, the only event occurring in the area (the Cariwest festival) was inconsistent with any image the area may have, and the interests of its user population.

CHAPTER EIGHT
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

This study has been concerned with examining the form and function of three inner-city shopping streets in Edmonton with regard to the evolution of these areas into consumption sites catering to distinct social groups. The analysis of these areas has been largely based on a consumption approach, in which each shopping area was examined with reference to the habitus, needs, and tastes of its specific user populations.

From the review of the literature presented in Chapter Two of this study, several features of consumption sites could be generalised: liminal space, vitality and social centrality, and a retail structure based on the appropriation of symbolic or expressive goods, the presence of leisure (non-specific) shopping and browsing. Themes of market segmentation through an increasingly specialised retail structure, ethnic and lifestyle diversity, and lifestyle and target marketing were also explored in the literature review.

In order to facilitate this analysis, five objectives involving landscape, user population, retail structure, user activities, shopping behaviour, and user perceptions were examined. These objectives were met using observations of the physical and social environment, as well as an interview survey of shoppers in each area.

OBJECTIVES AND RESULTS

In this section, results pertaining to the five objectives of the thesis, corresponding with chapters three through seven, will be summarised.

Chapter Three--Landscape and Amenity Analysis

The objective of this chapter was to determine how various aspects of the landscape in each study area encourage or discourage vitality, sense of place, and create a liminal space characteristic of consumption sites.

It was found that Whyte Avenue provides a sense of place by possessing liminality in several historic buildings and identifiable themes in place names. The streetscape contributed to vitality in that inconvenient parking created larger number of pedestrians, who in turn were provided with a plethora of amenities which encouraged them to walk, sit, socialise, and use the area as a leisure space. The landscape of 124th Street was found to be less conducive to imbuing a sense of place or creating vitality due to its few cultural or liminal attractions, large volume of available parking (encouraging one-stop shopping), and lack of pedestrian facilities. The 97th Street area possessed a cultural distinctiveness reminiscent of East Asia in terms of place names, storefronts, and architecture. Physical characteristics, notably a lack of convenient parking, created more pedestrians, but a lack of pedestrian amenities does not encourage vitality to the same degree as on Whyte Avenue.

Chapter Four--User Population

The objective of Chapter Four was to determine the demographic and leisure characteristics of the user population in each area. Data on demographic and leisure characteristics for dominant groups in each area were then applied to the VALS psychographic typology and the lifestyle-based typologies of Bourdieu (1984).

In the Whyte Avenue study area the user population was made up principally of persons 18-29 years of age, and 30-45 years. In general, examination of income, age, occupation, marital status, and hobbies and interests categorised this user population as "inner directed groups" in the VALS typology and Bourdieu's "new petite bourgeoisie". On 124th Street the user population was mostly local in origin and found to consist of a high-income, 30-45 and 46-60 year group with a secondary group of middle income, 18-29 years of age. Demographic and personal characteristics best placed these groups in the "outer-directed" category of the VALS typology, and the "executant petite bourgeoisie" category of Bourdieu. The user population of the 97th Street area consisted mostly of East Asian persons between 18 and 45 years (both single and married) drawn from throughout the city. Their hobbies and interests were mixed, and often reflected Asian heritage. Neither the VALS nor Bourdieu's typologies accurately portrayed their lifestyle.

Chapter Five--Retail Structure

The objective of this chapter was to show evidence that the goods and services in each area are structured or evolved in such a way that they appeal to or reflect the habitus of distinct groups of people.

Whyte Avenue was found to possess an unbalanced retail structure which suggested minimal linkages to both the commuting and local convenience population. Instead, the retail structure was weighted towards social space and expressive goods (unique handicrafts, cultural capital, contemporary youth-oriented clothing, and outdoor goods). These reflected the needs and preferences of the user population in the area. The 124th Street area was found to be more "typical" or balanced in terms of retail structure suggesting more links with local and commuter needs. While there was some degree of retail specialisation towards the habitus of the user population (an emphasis on more home and personal luxury goods), the bulk of the establishments were geared towards providing functional, not expressive, goods and services. The 97th Street retail structure was found not to be influenced to any great degree by local or commuting populations. Instead, the area specialised in providing East Asian oriented food, cultural goods, and personal services to a population whose origins are city-wide.

Chapter Six--User Population Activities and Behaviour

The objective of Chapter Six was to determine whether the three study areas fulfil social or cultural needs in addition to shopping needs through the measurement of the activities in which the user populations were engaged. This involved examination of occurrences of vitality, non-purposive behaviour, and symbolic consumption.

The Whyte Avenue study area was found to be used more as a recreation area in which browsing, flanerie, and other non-purposive behaviour were common. As well, shopping activity focused on stores selling expressive or habitus oriented goods as opposed to functional or convenience related goods. The shopping activity in the 124th Street area suggested the area was principally the focus for one-stop, special purpose shopping. The 97th Street area was used more in terms of non-purposive behaviour where non-specific shopping dominated. As well, activity focused mostly on purchasing expressive ethnic goods and services rather than functional shopping for local and commuter populations.

Chapter Seven--User Perceptions

The objective of this chapter was to determine whether the study areas are perceived as social or functional areas by their user populations. This evaluation involved the occurrences of consistent "within-group" descriptions, socially-oriented senses of place, and socially-oriented associative descriptions in each area.

In the Whyte Avenue area, the user population tended to describe the area more in social and ambience terms rather than functional or utilitarian terms, and social senses of place rated higher than functional ones. On 124th Street, results were mixed. There was little consensus among the user population as to the image of the place, and most user descriptions were functionally-oriented. However, socially oriented senses of place, in general, rated higher among the user population than functional senses of place, contradicting other image and perceptual results. The 97th Street area was more often described in functional terms and concerns, although descriptions of the area were often of a vital East Asian community. As well, functionally oriented senses of place were more prominent than social ones. Thus, it was concluded that the user population perceived the area as a place to purchase specialised ethnic goods, and not a social area.

OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

Overall, it has been found that the Whyte Avenue area functions as a consumption site for a distinct social group in the Edmonton population. Its existence as a shopping area is dependent on its provision of certain symbolic goods and services and a certain shopping environment (a leisure and social environment, and a certain sense of place) to a certain distinct population drawn from throughout the Edmonton area.

The 124th Street area, while appealing to a somewhat distinct social group, functions principally as a typical commercial ribbon, supplying a mix of goods and services to a local population and providing some specialised products to the metropolitan area. The area is not a consumption site per se, as there is little leisure or socio-cultural elements to the shopping experience.

It is concluded that 97th Street functions mostly as a consumption site for the East Asian ethnic population. Its reason for being is based on its provision of ethnic food, cultural items, and atmosphere to this population. However, in the minds of the user population themselves, the place is simply an area to buy the goods they need.

THE CONTEXT

This study has been confined to the specific investigation of the form and function of three shopping streets in inner-city Edmonton from a consumption-oriented perspective. However, it must be asked how these results apply to the broader context of urban change, and of inner-city shopping areas in general.

The development of consumption sites geared towards specific social groups can be seen as one aspect of larger changes in Western culture which are reflected in retail areas. The effects of media and a multiplication of lifestyle diversity have arguably led to increased frequency of lifestyle advertising, target and psychographic marketing, and specialised retail. This new lifestyle diversity combines with increasing ethnic diversity to create a more fragmented social world. Shopping, being increasingly integrated with lifestyle and leisure, becomes one outlet in the expression of this diversity. This results in specialised areas (unplanned in inner-city shopping streets) that serve the consumption needs of specific groups. In Whyte Avenue and 97th Street the results of this process can be seen. In these areas, like-minded people drawn from throughout the city purchase common cultural capital, expressive goods, and shared symbols in a common leisure and social space.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has attempted to study shopping street evolution from a consumption-oriented perspective, an approach that has been much neglected in Geographic and Sociological literature. In doing so, it is recognised that a number of directions for future research on this topic can be taken.

This thesis was oriented towards the consumers in each study area in terms of demographic and lifestyle characteristics. Future studies could include the characteristics of shopkeepers and employees in a study area, and their perceptions regarding the consumption space.

The exclusionary factors of lifestyle and ethnic consumption sites need to be considered, specifically the effects of a specialised shopping area on the local population. The need for this research became particularly apparent during observations of 97th Street, where conflicts between local "down and outs" and East Asian shoppers and shopkeepers were observed in several instances.

The planning implications of lifestyle and ethnic consumption site development as related to the revitalisation of inner-city areas needs to be considered: for example, whether target or psychographic marketing can be used as an aid by business associations in attracting customers to inner-city shopping areas. One would also need to investigate whether such an approach would be desirable with respect to social justice. Another planning-related research opportunity is the social importance of specialised commercial areas as a factor contributing to the development of ethnic or lifestyle residential enclaves. The influence of commercial specialisation on residential segregation has been largely ignored in the geographic literature, apart from the work of Castells (1981).

Finally, long term analysis of a developing consumption site would provide a unique research opportunity. Examining any changes in user population, function, and meaning of an inner-city shopping street over several years would be invaluable in studying long term cultural change as it pertains to shopping, retailing, and the fragmentation of social space. Such an opportunity may exist in the 124th Street area, where anecdotal evidence[36] suggests is an area of residential concentration for homosexuals. Since the field survey of summer, 1994, the number of businesses catering to homosexuals has doubled to four (one coffee shop, one cafe, a nightclub, and a clothing store), all located in the block between Jasper and 102nd Avenues. Although the street was deemed to be "functional" in this study, the growing homosexual element, combined with current streetscape improvements, may result in the development of a consumption site catering to a homosexual population in the near future.

Evaluation of Research Methods

In this thesis, two methods were used to collect data, observational, and survey/interview methods. The observational methods proved to be quite useful and appropriate as a supplement to the survey data, especially as a check on the validity of survey questionnaire populations. It was also indispensable in providing data on store activity, vitality, and user population behaviour. It is suggested that further research in related topics consider this somewhat under-utilised method of data collection.

The survey/interview methods were somewhat more problematic in certain areas of data collection. The open-ended questioning method was useful in providing insight and information regarding consumer behaviour in the study areas; however, classification of results was made more difficult and subjective by this type of questioning. Future studies should consider carefully the merits of open-ended versus multiple-choice style questionnaires. As well, the questionnaire possessed too few "lifestyle-oriented" questions, and, being open-ended, the responses were difficult to categorise. To collect more "workable" data on lifestyle differences, future studies should consider using a more psychographic approach, involving multiple-choice questions related not only to hobbies and interests, but to include questions related to values, desires, and ambitions.

Lastly, the measurement of sense of place must be given more thought. This study used Eyles (1985) "Senses of Place" categories to measure the type of attachment that user populations had to each area. A semantic-differential scale may have yielded better results than the binary "yes or no" scale which this study utilised. However, the length of time needed to answer such a questionnaire would have greatly reduced the number of potential respondents. This is a problem that must be considered for any future research involving similar analysis.

ENDNOTES

1. Such topics are common in the "City"sections of local papers. As well, the national newspaper "The Globe And Mail" featured in August 1991, a "City Streets" series highlighting mostly gentrifying areas in several Canadian cities. Their articles focused on vitality, retail success, and shifts in retail and residential structure.

2. The term "emerging patterns" of social change refers to an emerging consistency or model that is being imitated in many cities.

3. "Cultural significance" refers to an area that has achieved an importance for a community or culture. It has become a part of that society, its territory.

4. An index of segregation measures the degree of spatial differentiation between a specific ethnic group and the rest of the population. A score of one indicates total segregation, a score of zero, complete assimilation (Davies & Murdie, 1992).

5. Ley (1985) had found no significant degree of upfiltering in Edmonton by 1981 (while indicating its potential in the Strathcona area). However, by 1990 several neighbourhoods in the city are widely considered to be in the process of gentrification. Indeed, Ley (1993) found that the percentage of inner city dwellers earning over $60 000 a year had risen from 5% to 13% (fourth in Canadian cities), while those earning below $20 000 had decreased from 42% to 32%.

6. Reasons for this are well documented, see works by Burgess or Gans for examples.

7. For example, a regional shopping centre will generally not have a convenience store or a repair shop in it.

8. In fact, much of the area around Chinatown (including "old Chinatown") is very run down and is a blighted landscape.

9. "Old Chinatown" is generally regarded as the residential and cultural focus of the Chinese community in Edmonton (Dawson, 1991). However, the numbers of Chinese living within the specific boundary of Chinatown can be estimated to be no more than five hundred. This is mostly due to several Chinese-run old age homes in the area.

10. Two versions of the questionnaire were developed, a self administered version placed in several stores in each study area, and an interviewer version administered to pedestrians during peak times in each study area.

11. The methods for analysing the data are primarily based on multi-layered cross-tabulations performed in SPSS for Windows version 4.8. This method tends to "reveal" groupings in the data set which have several factors in common. For

example, a multi-layered cross-tabulation of age verses marital status (isolating for children) will isolate age/sex cross-tabulations for those with and without children in separate tables. This would display, for instance, a group of people aged 18-30 who are single and have no children, or a group of people aged 31-45 who are married and have children. By this method, certain groups can be seen and their tendencies in occupation can be suggested with additional employment data.

12. Locals are defined as those living in convenience range, or 1.5 miles from the shopping area (Maas 1984), cosmopolitans as those from the rest of the city of Edmonton. Metropolitans are those that come from the surrounding communities, suburbs, and acerages just outside the city, and tourists are persons who live outside the Metropolitan area.

13. In this case, store managers were approached (with the backing of the local business or merchants association) by the author and asked if, over the next week, they themselves or their employees could ask one or two customers a day at random to fill out this questionnaire if the customer had time. Stores were usually provided with a stock of five or ten questionnaires, depending on the general activity of the store and the confidence of the manager that they could get customers to complete them. Their progress was followed up every three days either in person or by telephone, not only to see if the questionnaires were being filled out and administered properly, but also as a reminder to the managers who would often forget about the study during the course of a busy week. It should also be noted that in this method, even though a proper sample of different store types was strived for, certain types of stores were under represented because the nature of their business was such that administering a questionnaire to their customers would have interfered with their business. This was the case in restaurants, pubs, convenience stores, and video rental outlets.

14. Questionnaire respondents were asked to name three hobbies that they enjoy. Each response was listed, then responses were grouped into six categories; arts (including hobbies such as music, reading, painting, art), sports (consisting of traditional spectator sports such as hockey, golf, basketball), outdoors (including pastimes like camping, biking, and hiking), consumption activities (consisting of activities usually involving a purchase and involving a number of people, including shopping, dining out, going to movies), home activities (such as gardening, carpentry, sewing), and an "other" category consisting of activities that could not be grouped with any others, such as one response: "aromatherapy".

15. Similar to Hobbies above, questionnaire respondents were asked what magazines they buy or subscribe to. These responses were grouped into fourteen categories in the table below.

Table 4.25, Magazine Types Selected by Area (per cent).

	Whyte Ave.		124th St.		97thSt.
Magazine Type	Cust	Peds	Cust	Peds	Peds
Art & Design	9.1	9.5	6.1	1.6	0
Music	10.1	11.1	10.6	1.6	0
Political & Alternative	3.0	1.6	9.1	0	0
Fashion	15.2	17.5	16.7	11.2	5.5
Pop	15.2	11.1	9.1	19.3	10.9
Sports	3.0	4.8	3.0	4.8	5.5
Outdoor	7.1	7.9	4.6	0	1.8
Science	5.1	7.9	9.1	14.3	5.5
Computer	4.0	1.6	1.5	1.6	0
Business	3.0	3.2	6.1	4.8	7.2
Newspapers & Magazines	17.1	12.7	13.6	22.6	29.1
Family, Home & Lifestyle	1.0	3.2	6.1	14.9	0
Foreign	0	0	0	0	21.8
Other	7.0	7.9	4.6	3.2	12.7
None/No Answer	16.2	8.7	20.8	7.1	30.3
Sample Size (n)	99	63	66	62	55

16. In both Whyte Avenue and 124th Street, over 93% of the local population had a first language of either English or French. As well, although averages of non-citizens and immigrants were slightly higher than the Edmonton average (9.8% and 19.5% for Whyte Avenue, and 7.9% and 21.8% for 124th Street), no single ethnic origin other than "United Kingdom" accounted for more than 8% of the population.

17. In the user population of the Whyte Avenue and 124th Street study areas ethnicity was judged to play a very minor role among customers and pedestrians. In all cases more than 90% of respondents were Canadian citizens. Identification with either Canadian, British, American, or no ethnicity occurred in the range of 64-79% of respondents, and no other single ethnic group was identified by more than 7% of respondents.

18. These figures do not include fifteen respondents who interpreted the question on ethnicity in the Chinese version of the questionnaire as "Can you identify any ethnic groups?" as opposed to "Do you identify with any ethnic group?". With these responses included, the proportion of Chinese in the user population would rise significantly to about 44% of the total sample.

19. The VALS typology was the most comprehensive, and most common psychographic study used by retailers throughout the 1980's (Mowen, 1990).

20. Census and questionnaire data shows that the "new" professions accounted for 37% of the local and between 20% and 28% of the user population, the highest of any category other than students. Conversely, business and commercial occupations accounted for 20% of the local and roughly 7% of the user population, the second lowest occupational category in the area.

21. Business and commerce occupations accounted for 25% of the local, and roughly 19% of the user population occupations. Clerical and retail occupations accounted for thirty-eight per cent of the local and 4% and 15% of customer and pedestrian occupations respectively. "New"professions accounted for 20% of the local and 27% of the user population on average. Business and commerce occupations accounted for 20% and 15% of the local populations of Whyte Avenue and 97th Street respectively, and 7% and 15% in the user populations. Clerical and retail occupations accounted for 28% and 40% of local, and 16% (on average) and 21% of the user populations.

22. "Food" businesses consist of supermarkets, bakeries, meat and grocery shops, meat markets, and others.

"General Merchandise" consist of department stores, general stores (i.e. convenience stores), and others (notably pawn shops).

"Automobile" businesses consist of gas stations, auto parts stores, auto dealers, and car washes.

"Apparel and accessories" consist of men's and women's clothing, shoe stores, and others.

"Hardware, furniture and appliances" consist of hardware stores, furniture and appliance stores, and interior shops (involving paint, wallpaper, glass, and wall decoration).

"Other retail" consists of drug stores, book stores, stationery shops, florists, jewellers, cycle shops, handicraft and gift stores, music stores, optical goods, record stores, sporting goods, outdoor shops, video rental outlets, and others.

"Finance" businesses include banks, insurance companies, real estate companies, cheque cashing outlets, and finance and loan companies.

"Community services" include schools or colleges, medical offices, charities, churches, cinemas, and amusement facilities.

"Personal Services" include any repair shops (other than auto), salons and barber shops, laundromats, dry cleaning, restaurants, fast food chains, coffee shops, hotels, and pubs.

"Businesses and services" include accounting firms, engineers, lawyers, printing and duplicating, and any other non-retail commercial business.

"Miscellaneous services" include photography studios, and any others that do not fit into the above categories.

23. "Street level businesses" refers to any business on the ribbon that has direct access to the street in question. This includes all ground floor businesses, and all basement and second-floor businesses which have direct stairway access and observable signage to the street. This excludes all businesses in multi-story office buildings above the ground floor.

It was felt that to include the upper levels of office towers would bias results in that the intention in this section was to measure functional change. It is extremely unlikely that office space in high-rise office buildings would change to another function other than offices (i.e. the eighth floor of an office building would not convert to retail use).

As well, activities located in these buildings as a rule do not depend on local and especially commuter patronage, therefore visibility and accessibility by automobiles is irrelevant to them.

24. The Italian Bakery was not included as a "Symbolic" store because it does not sell East Asian goods.

25. In the summer of 1994, there were nine businesses which regularly had live music or poetry performances.

26. As opposed to "pop" culture, which would be reflected in "knick knacks", eclectic food, and gift galleries.

27. Often with dyed or shaved hair, and flamboyent clothing.

28. Questions one and four were open-ended. Responses for question one ("What is the purpose of your visit here today?") were grouped into five categories: 1. *Non-specific shopping* which consisted of persons who stated "shopping" as the purpose of their visit, but were not shopping for anything specific. 2. *Other non-specific* activities which consisted of persons stating that they were "hanging-out", "killing-time", "browsing" and the like. 3. *Specific shopping* or activities which consisted of persons who were in that area with the intention of buying or doing something specific. 4. Persons in the area because they are *working* there. 5. *"Other"* activities, and persons who were merely *passing through* the area on their way somewhere else.

29. Random refers to patterns of store visiting in which no observable pattern can be deduced. Store-type specific patterns refer to a pattern in which the stores visited appeal to certain cultural or lifestyle groups (stores consistent with a groups habitus):

for example, a teenager who visits record stores, music stores, comic shops, and clothing stores that appeal to teens. Goods specific patterns refer to patterns in which stores that sell a certain kind of good are visited, gift shops for example. Store-specific patterns occur when the respondent visits only one store with the intention of buying a good, and leaves without visiting any other; this implies a single purpose trip. Convenience patterns refer to store visits from the local area to buy basic goods, such as newspapers, prescriptions, or milk. Once again, respondents who did not yet visit stores were excluded.

30. Respondents who stated that they had not visited a shop *yet*, but presumably planned to, were excluded.

31. These four food stores consisted of two ice cream shops, one chocolate shop, and one "hot dog stand". It is not appropriate to label these establishments as indicative of either functional or symbolic activity, as they are suscipient and service the pedestrian population that already happens to be in the area for other reasons.

32. 12.5 customers were recorded entering Pacific Rim Mall; however, since it is unknown which stores these people shopped in, that value was not included.

33. Similar descriptions were grouped into larger categories. For example, descriptions such as "busy", "alive", "lots of people", "vital", and "energetic" were grouped under the general description of "vital".

34. The theme of "funky" also includes descriptions such as "groovy" and "cool".

35. A search of Edmonton Journal headlines from September 1993 to September 1994 found the following protests and rallies: "Bike protest clogs traffic at rush hour" (July 29, 1994), "Gays, lesbians march with pride" (June 26, 1994), and "Freebie pot smoke-in set for Strathcona" (September 24, 1993), all of which occurred in the Whyte Avenue study area.

36. The co-chair of PRIDE of Edmonton indicated in an interview that the 124th Street area had a high residential concentration of homosexuals, likely the highest concentration in the city.

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APPENDIX 1

CUSTOMER, PEDESTRIAN, AND CHINESE QUESTIONNAIRES

CUSTOMER SURVEY

Hello, I am a student conducting research for my masters thesis. I am investigating why people are attracted to certain areas of the city: Whyte avenue, 97th street, and 124th street. Your cooperation in completing this anonymous questionnaire would be greatly appreciated.

Location__________. Time___________. Date________.
Weather_________________. Events______________.

First of all, I would like to ask you some questions about your visit here, and your shopping behaviour.

1.What is the purpose of your visit here today?________________
____

2.How often do you visit this area? (For example, once a week, once a month)______________________________________

3.Name the shops you have visited today. _____________________
____

4.Do you plan to visit more? Which? _________________________
____

5.Have you bought goods/services today? y/n
6.In what shops? ____
____

7.What did you purchase? ___________________________________
____

8.In general, are the following reasons important or relevant in why you choose to come to this area? Circle either yes or no.

1. To meet friends. y/n
2. To buy goods I can't get elsewhere. y/n
3. To buy goods I can get elsewhere, but it's easier here. y/n
4. To enjoy the historic amenities (eg. old buildings) y/n
5. To enjoy the leisure amenities (eg. parks,festivals) y/n
6. The street is pedestrian friendly. y/n
7. It is outdoors. y/n

8. The stores are easily accessible. y/n
9. I identify with the people around here y/n
10. I live close by. y/n
11. I work close by. y/n
12. My friends live close by. y/n
13. My friends work close by. y/n
14. My family lives close by. y/n
15. Members of my family work close by. y/n
16. It has an atmosphere that I like. y/n
17. It is a different or unique place y/n
18. I like to shop at small and independent businesses more than chain stores. y/n
19. It reminds me of a downtown when cities were better places to live. y/n
20. It appeals to my lifestyle. y/n
21. It's a good place to meet people. y/n
22. The prices here are cheaper. y/n
23. There are lots of other things to do than just shopping. y/n
24. My family and I have always shopped here. y/n
25. It's in a good accessible location. y/n
26. I grew up in this area. y/n
27. There are lots of interesting people and things to look at. y/n
28. I feel "at home" here. y/n
29. I like the vitality and the activity here. y/n
30. It is close to institutions important to me (eg. churches, clubs, school) y/n
31. It's nice because there area lot of people around. y/n
32. There are lots of restaurants and cafes to stop in. y/n
33. There are lots of ethnic restaurants (eg. Chinese, Italian, German, Greek) that I like. y/n
34. There are lots of ethnic shops and food stores. y/n

9.Please draw a map of this area that you feel would describe the area to someone who has never been here, indicate any landmarks, buildings, stores, and the like, that you feel are important to your description. Use the back of this page if you need more room.

10.Describe this area in your own words.______________________________

____

____

____

____

11.If you could, what would you change about this area?____________________

____

____

12.Do you attend any of the events or festivals in this area (for example the Fringe, Chinese New Year, or Cariwest)? y/n
If so, which ones?____

____

____

Now, if you don't mind, I would like to ask some questions that relate to you personally, so that I can find out about the people that are using this area.

Male/Female (circle one)

13.How long have you lived in Edmonton?____________________

14.Where do you live?(street and avenue) ____________________________

____

15.Where did you come from today? (Circle one)
Home Work Another shopping area School Hotel Other_______

16.How did you get here? Car Bus Walk Bike

17.What is your age? (<18 18-30 31-45 46-60 61+) ______

18. Are you: Married Single or Cohabiting?

19.Do you have any children? y/n

20.What is your occupation? (If unemployed, what did you normally do?)____

21.What is your wife/husband's occupation?(only if married or cohabiting)____

22.Are you a Canadian citizen? y/n

23.If not, of which country? ______________________________

24.Do you identify with any ethnic group? y/n

25.Which one?______________________________

26.Please name the last five magazines that you bought or subscribe to.______________________________

____

____

27.And the last five movies you have seen.______________________________

____

____

28.Please name three interests/hobbies you have.______________________________

____

29.If you don't mind, could you give your approximate yearly income.
<$10000 $10-20000 $20-30000 $30-40000 $40-50000 $50-60000 >$60000

Thank you very much for participating in this study.

PEDESTRIAN SURVEY

Location__________. Time___________. Date________.
Weather_________________. Events_____________.

Hello, I am a student conducting research for my masters thesis. I am investigating why people are attracted to certain areas of the city: Whyte avenue, 97th street, and 124th street. Would you be interested in answering a brief questionnaire? It should take no more than seven minutes, and you may end the interview at any time.

First of all, I would like to ask you some questions about your visit here, and your shopping behaviour.

1.What is the purpose of your visit here today? ____________________________
____

2.How often do you visit this area? ____________________________________
____

3.Name the shops you have visited today. ______________________________
____

4.Do you plan to visit more? Which? ___________________________________
____

5.Have you bought goods/services today? y/n
6.In what shops?____
____

7.What did you purchase? ____
____

8.In general, are the following reasons important or relevant in why you choose to come to this area? A simple yes/no will be O.K.

1. To meet friends.	y/n
2. To buy goods I can't get elsewhere.	y/n
3. To buy goods I can get elsewhere, but it's easier here.	y/n
4. To enjoy the historic amenities (eg. old buildings)	y/n
5. To enjoy the leisure amenities (eg. parks,festivals)	y/n
6. The street is pedestrian friendly.	y/n
7. It is outdoors.	y/n
8. The stores are easily accessible.	y/n

9. I identify with the people around here y/n
10. I live close by. y/n
11. I work close by. y/n
12. My friends live close by. y/n
13. My friends work close by. y/n
14. My family lives close by. y/n
15. Members of my family work close by. y/n
16. It has an atmosphere that I like. y/n
17. It is a different or unique place y/n
18. I like to shop at small and independent businesses more than chain stores. y/n
19. It reminds me of a downtown when cities were better places to live. y/n
20. It appeals to my lifestyle. y/n
21. It's a good place to meet people. y/n
22. The prices here are cheaper. y/n
23. There are lots of other things to do than just shopping. y/n
24. My family and I have always shopped here. y/n
25. It's in a good accessible location. y/n
26. I grew up in this area. y/n
27. There are lots of interesting people and things to look at. y/n
28. I feel "at home" here. y/n
29. I like the vitality and the activity here. y/n
30. It is close to institutions important to me (eg. y/n
churches, clubs, school)
31. It's nice because there area lot of people around. y/n
32. There are lots of restaurants and cafes to stop in y/n
33. There are lots of ethnic restaurants (eg. Chinese, Italian, German, Greek) that I like. y/n
34. There are lots of ethnic shops and food stores. y/n

9.Please draw a map of this area that you feel would describe the area to someone who has never been here, indicate any landmarks, buildings, stores, and the like, that you feel are important to your description.

10.Describe this area in your own words.____________________________________

11. If you could, what would you change about this area?____________________

Now, if you don't mind, I would like to ask some questions that relate to you personally, so that I can find out about the people that are using this area.

Male/Female

12.How long have you lived in Edmonton?______________________________

13.Where do you live?(street and avenue) ________________________________

14.Where did you come from today?
Home Work Another shopping area School Hotel Other_______

15.What is your age? (<17 18-30 31-45 46-60 61+) ______

16. Are you: Married Single or Cohabiting?

17.Do you have any children? y/n

18.What is your occupation? (If unemployed, what did you normally do?)____

20.What is your wife/husband's occupation?(only if married or cohabiting)____

21.Are you a Canadian citizen? y/n

22.If not, of which country? ____

23.Do you identify with any ethnic group? y/n

24.Which one?____

25.Please name the last five magazines that you bought or subscribe to.____

____

____

26.And the last five movies you have seen.______________________________

____

____

27.Please name three interests/hobbies you have.________________________

____

28.If you don't mind, could you give your approximate income.
<10000 10-20000 20-30000 30-40000 40-50000 50-60000 >60000

Thank you very much for participating in this study.

顧客調查

您好！我是一個學生，正在為我的碩士論文作些調查研究，我在調查為甚麼人們對城市的某些地區那麼感興趣，像 82街，97街和 124街，我會很感激您能回答以下問題，謝謝您的合作。請用英語回答

地區____________ 時間____________ 日期__________

天氣_______________ 事件___________________

首先，我想問你一些問題關於你到這兒來及你買東西的習慣。

1．今天你來光顧的目的是甚麼？_____________________________

2．多長時間你來一次這兒？（舉個例子，一禮拜一次，一個月一次）______

3．你今天光顧的商店名字 ________________________________

4．你計劃再來光顧嗎？哪兒？_____________________________

5．你今天買了些甚麼東西嗎？（是或不是）_____________________

6．在哪個店？_______________________________________

7．你買了甚麼？_____________________________________

8．總之，是否因為下列原因使你選擇到這個地區來，回答是或不是。

1.	來見朋友	是／否
2.	來買東西，我不能在別的地方買到	是／否
3.	來買東西，我能在別處買到，但這兒方便些	是／否
4.	來享受歷史的環境（象古舊的建築）	是／否
5.	來享受娛樂的環境（公園，節日）	是／否
6.	這條街上的行人很友好	是／否
7.	這是室外	是／否
8.	這些店都容易進入	是／否
9.	我熟識周圍的人	是／否
10.	我住附近	是／否
11.	我在附近工作	是／否
12.	我朋友住在附近	是／否
13.	我朋友在附近上班	是／否
14.	我的家在附近	是／否
15.	我家庭的成員在附近上班	是／否

16. 我很喜歡歡這裏的氣氛 是／否
17. 這是一個與眾不同的地方 是／否
18. 我喜歡到一些小的獨立的商店去，而不喜歡到一些連鎖店去 是／否
19. 一想起市中心，使我覺得住在城市裏還是很好的 是／否
20. 它適合我的生活方式 是／否
21. 這是一個很好的地方去碰見人們 是／否
22. 這裏物價便宜 是／否
23. 這裏不只是買東西，其實有好多事要做 是／否
24. 我和我的家裏人都在這兒買東西 是／否
25. 這在一個很好進入的地區裏 是／否
26. 我在這個地區成長 是／否
27. 這裏有很多很有趣的人們及事去看 是／否
28. 我感覺像在家裏一樣 是／否
29. 我喜歡這裏的生機與活力 是／否
30. 這裏離對我很重要的學院很近（象教堂，俱樂部，學校） 是／否
31. 這裏周圍都有很多人 是／否
32. 這裏附近有很多飯館與咖啡店 是／否
33. 這裏還有很多民族飯店（象中國，意大利，德國） 是／否
34. 這裏還有很多民族商店和食品店 是／否

9. 請你為那些從來都沒來過這兒的人畫一張地圖，標出路標，大樓，商店，等等。

10. 請你用你自己的話來描述這個地區 ______________________________

____

11. 如果你能，你想怎麼改變這個地區 ______________________________

____

12. 你是否參加過甚麼活動和節日在這個地區（象中國春節） 是／否

如果是的，是哪些? ______________________________________

____

現在，如果你不介意的話，我想問你一些個人問題，這樣我可以找出甚麼樣的人為甚麼到這兒來。

男性／女性

13. 你在埃德蒙頓住了多久了? ____________________________

14. 你住哪兒? ______________________________________

15. 你今天從哪兒來?(選擇)

家　工作地　另外一個商店區　學校　旅館　其它 ____________

16. 你怎麼到這兒來的?　車子　公共汽車　步行　自行車

17. 你的年齡 (<18　18-30　31-45　46-60　61+) ____________

18. 你是:　結婚　獨身　或同居

19. 你有孩子嗎?　是／否

20. 你的職業是甚麼 (如果是失業的，你以前做甚麼?) ____________

21. 你太太或先生的職業是甚麼 (如果你結婚了) ________________

22. 你是加拿大公民嗎? ________________________________

23. 如果不是，是哪個? ________________________________

24. 你是否能識別出某些少數民族　是／否

25. 哪些? ______________________________________

26. 請你把你最近買的 5本雜誌名字寫出來 __________________

____

27. 還有最近看過的 5部電影 ___________________________

28. 請寫出你的三個愛好 _______________________________

29. 如果你不介意，你能告訴我你的最高年薪嗎?

<$10000　$10000-$20000　$20000-30000　$30000-40000　$40000-50000

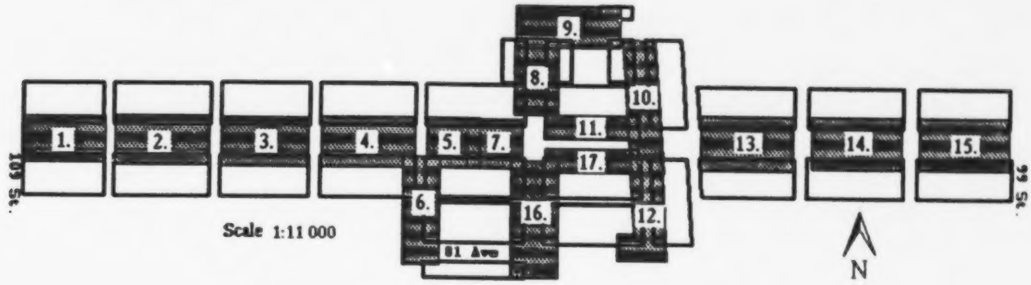
$50000-60000　>$60000

謝謝你參與我的研究。

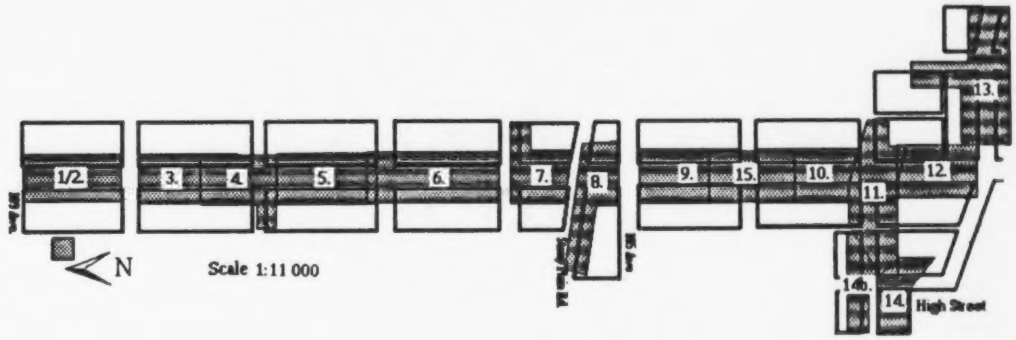
APPENDIX 2

OBSERVATION STATIONS

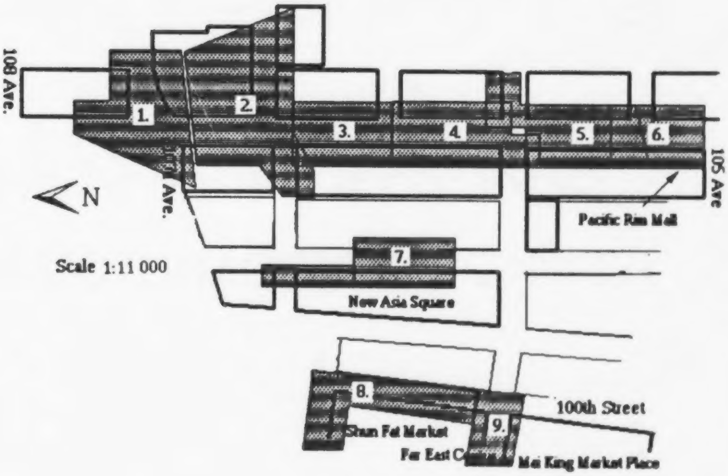
Whyte Avenue Observation Stations


9.
8.
10.
11.
17.
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
7.
13.
14.
15.
6.
16.
12.
109 St.
99 St.
Scale 1:11 000
81 Ave
N

124th Street Observation Stations


13.
1/2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
15.
10.
12.
11.
14b.
14.
High Street
N
Scale 1:11 000

97th Street Observation Stations


108 Ave.
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
105 Ave
N
Ave.
Pacific Rim Mall
Scale 1:11 000
7.
New Asia Square
8.
100th Street
9.
Shun Fat Market
Far East C
Mai King Market Place

APPENDIX 3

MAXIMUM AVERAGE FREQUENCIES OF CUSTOMER ENTRANTS IN STUDY AREA BUSINESSES OVER A TEN MINUTE PERIOD

WHYTE AVENUE BUSINESSES BY RANK

A) FREQUENCIES (Maximum average customer entrants over a ten minute period)
B) TIME OF DAY (1=weekdays; 2=weekends; 3=weekday eves.; 4=weekend eves.; 5=weekday nights; 6=weekend nights)

p.o.North entrance (Squires Pub)	45	6
rebar	42	6
p.o.east entrance (Billiard club)	33	6
strath	30	6
bdog	20	6
macs	16	2
rocky	15	6
nationa/mfinns	15	6
cookcount	14	6
baskin	14	2
packrat	12	6
keg	11	3
pigs	11	1
grabba	10	6
royalb	10	6
commercial	9	6
kettle	9	2
treaspot	8	6
bamboo	8	3
cafeselect	8	1
ssides	8	2
alikatu	8	2
hub	8	1
streetv1	8	2
d.d.	7	3
vspot	7	6
kringles	7	2
weebook	7	6
valuedrug	7	6
scotia	6	4
hortons	6	3
esso	6	3
misty	6	6
odeon	6	2
AandN	6	2
latte	6	6
kingandi	6	4
nessesities	6	2
cypath	6	2
legare	6	1
twr	6	1
iandI	6	6
bp	6	6
dmiller	5.5	4
zoyana	5.5	1
rogers	5	2
choclate	5	3
earthlygoo	5	2
td	5	1
amos	5	2
tandtrail	5	1
cobblestone	5	2
tresbarn	5	2
aandW	5	2
streetvend3	5	6
vertigo	5	3
subway	4.5	1
sconabowl	4.5	4
bagel	4	2
cranberry	4	2
rcomics	4	1
hofimports	4	1
gpmus	4	1
mama	4	6
peoples	4	5
whytemill	4	4
dominion	4	3
cibc	4	2
onion	4	3
mikes	4	6
AandN	4	1
sorr	4	3
carols	4	1
tandt	4	2
sonix	4	3
globalvill	4	2
stphoto	3.5	1
buboka	3.5	1
royalb	3.3	1
mrsub	3	4
krause	3	1
als	3	6
nextact	3	6
commliquer	3	6
shell	3	2
furusato	3	1
vons	3	3
cibc	3	2
painspt	3	1
strathtv	3	2
techni	3	2
calmar	3	3
audio	3	1
bluedolph	3	1
handi	3	1
julios	3	6-4
laundromat	3	4
edcy	3	2
docs	3	6-4
avenuecl	2.5	3
strathbooks	2.5	1
bubble	2.5	1
whytebldg	2.5	1
greenw1	2.5	1
musicbox	2.5	1
images	2.5	2
hanrattys	2.5	1

akishek	2.5	1
polly	2.3	1
omnipres	2.3	1
mrsued	2	1
bottomline	2	1
cblakes	2	5-4
streetvend4	2	6
newasia	2	6-3
destiny	2	2
beebell	2	1
audioplus	2	1
terrys	2	4-3
margrets	2	1
mikos	2	1
mm	2	2
streetvend2	2	4
nybagel	2	4-3
green2	2	1
collection	2	1
annes	2	2
swallotail	2	2
cardealer	2	2
brats	2	1
chicago	2	4
silver	2	2
kettlecreek	2	2
changes	2	2
offtwall	2	2
cameron	2	2
yannis	2	6-4
plush	2	2
last reel	2	2
b-scene	2	2
lillos	2	1-3
littleroyal	2	2
garbak	2	1
earths	2	4
oceanspts	2	1
mother	2	1
soleil	2	3
freemans	2	1
tops	2	1-3
f&ncafe	2	3
etzio	2	1
basketh	2	2
dadeo	1.5	4
iml	1.5	1
bjarnes	1.5	2
collections	1.5	1
clay	1	1-2
asianxp	1	1
finelines	1	1
icecream	1	6-4
laguitar	1	1
jstrauss	1	1
universal	1	1
bofm	1	4
brewsandcues	1	1
alberts	1	2
dane	1	1
rental	1	4
beansmith	1	1
mrjohns	1	1
comput	1	1
acoustic	1	1-3
boot	1	1
knight	1	6
uplil	1	1
hippy	1	4
princess	1	1
upstbus	1	1
oxford	1	1
green3	1	1
hemp	1	2
monogr	1	4-3
burling	1	2
rainfor	1	2
upsant	1	1
upstairs	1	1
calamity	1	1
tailor	1	4
rowena	1	2
superopt	1	3
cblakes	1	4
victoria	1	1
fuyama	1	1
junque	1	1
terra	0.5	1
estelle	0.5	1

124TH STREET BUSINESSES BY RANK

A) FREQUENCIES (Maximum average customer entrants over a ten minute period)
B) TIME OF DAY (1=weekdays; 2=weekends; 3=weekday eves.; 4=weekend eves.; 5=weekday nights; 6=weekend nights)

bps	12	6
711	8	4
grabba	8	4
scotia	7	1
esso	6	6
boystown	6	3
earthly	6	3
laspiga	6	3
wojeten	5.5	2
esso	5.5	2
markham	5	1
eldean	5	3
hellodeli	5	6
dq	5	6
theos	5	3
sweet	5	2
sugarbowl	5	6
deville	4	6
tellaflora	4	2
sissy	4	2
superopt	4	2
capricere	4	2
episode	4	1
rosoes	4	3
alco	4	5
indorugs	4	1
cottswood	4	1-3
asmoke	3.5	1
plaza2	3.5	1
johns	3.5	1
eurocan	3.5	1
victormich	3.5	2
volumeII	3	2
flair	3	3
johnson	2.5	1
notables	2.5	1
plaza5	2.5	1
sumatraint	2.5	1
plaza4	2	1
emerys	2	3
dudell	2	1-2
upb	2	2
avanti	2	3
plaza3	2	1
shambles	2	3
clauds	2	2
kettlebl	2	3
kettlecr	2	1
westend	2	2
mandelli	2	1
westcanboo	2	3
upst	2	1
124xchng	2	1
secondstory	2	1
mrsub	2	3
futon	2	1
cuttingroom	2	1
up	2	6
plaza1	2	1
emporerstab	2	5
elephants	1.5	2
mm	1.5	1
tdbank	1.5	1
office	1.5	1
alliance	1.5	1
burgerking	1.5	1
pastry	1.5	2
spalady	1	3
holiday	1	1
transcan	1	1
chiro	1	2
forplay	1	4
sonystore	1	3
gallery	1	2
maple	1	2
oliver	1	1
mottas	1	3
doct	1	1
storagerev	1	1-2
budjet	1	1
fineline	1	1
silk	1	2
viasur	1	1
up	1	1
bernardcall	1	1
goodearth	1	1
lavertygal	1	1
glenoradr	1	1
altamoda	1	1
milady	1	1
wallsalive	1	1
frontgall	1	2
audio	1	1
opt	1	3
xxx	0.5	2
stationeer	0.5	1
travcuts	0.5	1-2
opt	0.5	1
dental	0.5	1
oyster	0.5	1
dmiller	0.5	1
knitandpurl	0.5	1
nikki	0.5	1
freshfood	0.5	1
alberts	0.5	1
actionlok	0.5	1
croissant	0.5	1
lorres	0.5	1

handr	0.5	1	
academy	0.5	2	
squireshall		0.5	1
wilbekbldg		0.3	1
svalentine		0.3	1
jiffy	0.3	1	

97TH STREET BUSINESSES BY RANK

A) FREQUENCIES (Maximum average customer entrants over a ten minute period)
B) TIME OF DAY (1=weekdays; 2=weekends; 3=weekday eves.; 4=weekend eves.; 5=weekday nights; 6=weekend nights)

shunfat	23	2
taipan	22	6
lucky97	21	1
dongphuong	21	2-4
prmall	12.5	1
hoaping	12.5	2
saiwoo	12	3
heiptranh	10	1
asiabooks	9	4
pagloac	9	4
doans	9	6
italianbak	8	1
shangrila	7	6
royal	6.5	2
hongkongbak	6.5	2
marcopolo	6	4
supbbq	5.5	2
keenjane	5.5	2
viethoavid	5	4
goldenrivbak	5	1
dragon	4.5	2
newcent	4.5	1
massage	4	2
baoshing	4	1
photung	4	2
fairest	4	2
tunglam	4	2
goldcrown	3.5	2
fashiongar	3.5	2
kimfat	3.5	1
temple	3	2
ornoodles	3	1
megazone	3	1
kofkings	3	1
southeastasiah	3	2
truck	3	1
bargainmart	3	2
southgate	3	1
boanherb	3	1
littleboat	2.5	2
flower	2.5	2
ngoc	2.5	2
chineseherb	2.5	2
mallent	2.5	2
nhon	2.5	1
minhpharm	2	1-4
goldenbird	2	6
thanglongrest	2	6
jades	2	2
wokking	2	3-6
photo	2	2
med	2	1
jew97	2	2
ruby	2	4
streetv1	1.5	2
travel	1.5	1
goodcomp	1.5	2
janejane	1.5	3
vennisa	1.5	2
superior	1.5	1
islam	1	4
BMAprof	1	1
timely	1	1-2
mantan	1	2
kimson	1	1
chanchantai	1	3
viendong	1	1-2-4-3-
herbal	1	1
estheticsal	1	1
pawn	1	1
kowloonbak	1	4
kimlong	1	2
wadat	1	1-2
triplehap	1	3-4
phatky	0.5	2
optom	0.5	1
mannahair	0.5	1
salon	0.5	2
goldentower	0.5	2
niceday	0.5	2
citizent	0.5	2
ladypalace	0.5	1
pharm	0.5	1
leona	0.5	1
hairshadow	0.5	2
incaco	0.5	1

APPENDIX 4

LISTS OF BUSINESSES AND LOCATIONS

Whyte Avenue Businesses

108th Street South

Esso Self Serve
Mr Johns Men's Wear
Dan's Xchange
Earth's General Store
Mothers Music
Dane co. Electrical
Cambridge Daycare
Whyte Ave. Tailors
Pizza Hut
Five Star Movie Rentals
Computer Bookstore
Mr. Submarine

107th Street south

St. Anthony's Church
Chevrolet car dealer

106th Street South

Mormon Church
Presitge Auto Used Cars
Hugh Mcoll's South Park Motors

105th Street South

Hugh Mcoll's cont.
Rebar Nightclub
That Place Upstairs theatre (2)
Scotiabank
Bjarne's Books
Tim Horton's Donuts
National Stamp collectors
Mickey Finn's Pub (2)
Mama Bistro
Strathcona Square
(Old Strathcona Post Office)
  Chianti Restaurante
  C'est Bon Bistro
  Collections II
  The Billiard Club (2)
  Squire's Pub (B)

104th Street South

Esso Service Station
Divine Decadence Clothing (B)
Cafe Vertigo
Sonix Records and Tapes
Vacant (2)
Canadian Imp. Bank of Commerce
Black Dog Pub
Dennis Miller Wine
Army & Navy Dept. Store
Cafe Latte (2)
Sorrintino's Restaurant

103rd Street South

Grabbajabba Coffee Shop
The Notions Place (B)
Vacant (2)
Vacant (1, 2, & 3)

108th Street North

Toronto Dominion Bank
Boston Pizza
B.P's Pub (2)
Old Hippy Woodcrafts
Lillo's Music
Barber Shop (2)
Scottish Imports
Cafe Mosiacs
Garneau Bakery
Friends & Neighbours Cafe
Gordon Price Music
Office (2)
Varscona Books (2)
Fine Lines Art Supplies
Handiworks Gallery
Clayworks Gallery
Asian Express Travel
Freeman's Jewellers
Farrell-Stadler Insurance
Jaggers Hair
Bank of Montreal

107th Street North

Top's Foods (convenience)
Rowena Halldor's Gifts
Life Rythms Homeopathic (2)
Vacant (B)
Chicago Blues on Whyte Pub
Audio Designs (Vacant)
Two Wheel Resource
St Joseph's Hospital

106th Street North

Mac's convenience
Roger's Video
Subway sandwiches
Baskin Robbin's Ice Cream
Akishek Books
Strathcona Photo
Technicuts hair
Super Optical
IML Gallery
People's Pub
Ike & Iggy's Pub
Renford Inn Hotel

105th Street North

Continental Treat Rest.
Victorianox Knives
Plush skateboards & access. (2)
Changes Consignment Clothing

- Greenwood's Bookshoppe
- Vacant (2 & 3)
- Malaysian Satay Noodles Rest.
- Inca Boutique
- Rainforest Originals clothing
- Upstairs (2)
- Hemp Store (B)
- Bagel Tree Cafe
- Hub Magazine Store
- Hanratty's Tea & Pastry Shoppe
- Vacant (2)
- Princess Theatre
- Last Reel Cafe
- Commercial Blues Pub
- Commercial Hotel
- Commercial Liquer Store
- Al's Hamburgers
- Rocky Mountain Ice Cream
- Terra Natural Foods
- Stanley Carroll Clothes (2)
- Courtney Blake's Pub

102nd Street South

- Park

101st Street South

- Edmonton Plumbing
- In-Town Motors
- L.C. Cheung Piano
- Anderson-Graham Insurance (2)
- The Bandstand music
- Ocean Sports diving equipment
- Uncle John's Exchange
- CompuWare
- Etta's Clothing
- Equiplan Investment corp. (2)
- Western Canada Wilderness (2)
- Royal Emporium Oriental Gifts
- Universal Barber Shop
- Vinca Rosea Fashion
- A-Z Chinese Herbal Centre
- Strathcona Gasthaus

100th Street South

- A & W Fast Food
- Edmonton Cycle
- Cycle Path
- Vacant
- Goodyear Auto
- Shoppers Mall
  - As Time goes By Antiques
  - Whyte Avenue Exchange
  - Walk-in Closet Clothing
  - Greenwood Restaurant
  - Howling Coyote Antiques
  - Hall of Heroes Sports Cards
  - Medical Practice
- House of Imports
- Home Bakery European
- Charly's German Deli

99th Street South

- Beansmiths Coffee
- Images
- Collections Clothing
- Cameron Guitars
- Dadeo Restaurant
- Allied Communications (2)
- Off The Wall Gift Gallery
- Dentist (2)
- Dyberg Insurance
- Scona Bowl
- Bubbles Car Wash
- Call the Kettle Black
- Monogramming on Whyte
- Odeon
- The Paint Spot Art Supplies
- The Sony Store
- Whyte Ave. Building
- Est Elle Hair Design
- Royal Bank

104th Street North

- When Pigs Fly
- Burlington Tobacconists
- Silver on Whyte
- Oxford Framing
- Second Floor on Whyte (2)
  - Colour Blind Clothing
  - The Bead Closet
  - Vacant
- Buboka Coffee
- Misty Mountain Coffee
- Necessities
- Hair 4 U
- Denture Centre
- Whyte Ave. Building
- Julio's Barrio Rest.
- Paris Furs
- Yiannis Taverna
- Antiques (2)
- Gravity Pope Shoes
- Little Brats
- Junque Cellar (B)
- Swallowtail
- Treasures and Toys
- Kettle Creek Clothing
- Global Village Crafts
- Earthly Goods Fabrics
- Kringles
- Vacant (2)
- Vacant
- New York Hot Dogs (street)
- Alikatu
- Laurel's Flowers
- B-Scene Studios
- Universal Salon
- Amos and Andes Clothing
- Mike's Donair

103rd Street North

- Albert's Pancake House
- Carol's Sweets
- Southside Sound
- Cafe Soleil (2)

Syndicate Group Business Centre
Eurosport Auto
Crystal Glass
Lube-X
Mr. Suede
Value Drug Mart
Acoustic Guitar Shop
Ice Cream Stand
Canadian Imp. Bank of Commerce

103rd Street 82nd Ave. West

Strathcona Hotel
Street Vendor (clothing)
Strathcona Furniture
New Asia Restaurant
Confetti's Pub (2)

103rd Street 81st Ave. West

Courtney Blake's Pub
Brew's and Cue's Pub (B)
Bee Bell Bakery
Doc's Ice Cream
Omnipresents
La Guitarre Classique
Electrolux
Cafe Legare
Bootstore
Polly Magoo's

102nd Street, 81st Ave West

Sorrentino's Rest.
Army & Navy Dept. Store
Calmar Bakery
Bamboo Palace (80th Ave.)

102nd Street, 81st Ave. East

Grabbajabba
Greenwood's Calenders
Greenwood's Small World
Vacant

102nd Street, 82nd Ave. West

Mike's Donair
Zoyana Clothing
Office
Treasure Barn
Next Act Bar & Grill
Street Vendor (clothing)

102nd Street, 82nd Ave. East

Albert's Pancakes
Calamity Jane (2)
Old Strathcona Music Box (2)
New York Bagel Cafe
Hair Illusions
Tailor
Strathcona Books
Johann Strauss Bistro
Bottom Line
Sportin' Post
Destiny Fashions
Packrat Louie's

Cranberry Cottage Gifts
Vacant
Basket House
Etzio Clothing
Little Royal Framing
Whyte Knight Sports Cards
Strathcona T.V.
Cafe Select
Dominion Building
  Kluane Mountaineering (B)
  Beadworks (2)
  Sunflower Gallery (2)
  Flowers (2)
  Medical Practice (2)
  Simple Pleasures Gift Gallery
  Something Blue Bridal (3)
  Genisis Nail & Skin Care (3)
Avenue Clothing
Vacant
Wee Book Inn
Cobblestone Gift
Strathcona Hotel

102nd Street North

Choclate Overdose
Futon Generation
The King & I Restaurant
Anne's Bedding Shoppe
Village Cobbler
Vacant (2)
Track and Trail
Sun Toyota
Office Building

100th Street North

Whyte Mill Foods
Nutrition Plus Pharmacy
Margeret's Cafe
Fuiyama Japanese food Store
Alternative Video Spot
Treasure Pot Rest./H2O Lounge
Miko's Hair
M+W West Indian Store
Rockhead Comics (2)
Money Mart
Plato's Collector Plates
Aston Drake Dolls
Vacuum Rebuilders
Fursato Japenese Rest.
Hardcore Mountain Bike Store
Danway Motors

99th Street North

Shell Service Station
Krause & Krause Food Liner
Erika's Pharmacy
  Accupuncture (2)
  Advertising Office (2)
  Naturopathic Clinic (2)
  Fabricating Studio (2)
Roadrunner Pizza
Audio Plus

101st Street, 81st Ave. East
Esso Service Station
Blue Dolphin Restaurant
Collections Gallery

101st Street, 81st Ave. West
Strathcona Square
Church
The Keg bar & Grill (80th Ave)

Wild Rose Travel
Empress Bakery
Leo's Tailor Shop
North China Restaurant
Buzzard Gulch Birdhouses
Vacant (2)
Terry's Pub
Whyte Ave. Laundromat

124th Street Businesses

101st Avenue East

7-11 Convenience
Dairy Queen
Adantino's Pizza (2)
Indo Designer Rugs
Mandelli Furnishings
Tandy Leather Goods
Sissy Walkers Country Interiors
Cycle Logic
Cafe Deville
Tella Flora
Bernard Callebeut Choclates
Claude's Pastries
Halldor's Gallery & Framing

102nd Avenue East

Old Glenora Market (Vacant)
Markum Place
Silk Fantasy

103rd Avenue East

J West Goldsmiths
Rosies Restaurant
Flair Liquer
Windscape Clothing
Theraputic Touch Massage (B)
Lorre's Barber Shop
Terra Court Apts.
Alta Moda Design Group
John's Cafe on 124th
Office Buildg. Entrance
Alberta Labour
A Smoke and Confectionary
Duplicopy
Harold's Stereo

104th Avenue East

Sweets Treats and Eats
Vacant
Kathleen Laverty Gallery
Office Bldg. Entrance

Stony Plain Road West

Western Cycle
Squires and Hall Hair
Good Earth Trading
Alco Liquer
Full Moon Entertainment (2)
Royal Tours (2)
Romaso Cafe
Via Sur Travel
Croissant Cafe

105th Avenue East

Apartments
Apartments
Apartments
Boston Pizza
Vacant Lot (Farmer's Market)

101st Avenue West

Vacant
Boystown Cafe Gallery
Artist's Gallery (2)
Alberta Computer Career College
Glenora Antiques
Avanti Skin and Hair
H & R Block
Esso Self Serve

102nd Avenue West

Animation Gallery
124th Street Plaza Ent.
Travel Agent
Martina Hair
Plaza Ent.
Glenora Drugs
Plaza Ent.
Optomotrist

103rd Avenue West

Westcan Books
Funsun Tours
Drayden Insurance
Glenora Apts.
Apartments
Wojeten Gallery
Health Science Assoc of Alberta
124th Street Business Centre
  124th Street Business Assoc
  McJane Developments
  LAN serve inc.
  Vacant

104th Avenue West

Emporer's Table Rest.
Hong Kong Tailors
Knit and Purl Sewing
Milady Fashions
Dove Stationeers
Parkington Plaza entrance

Stony Plain Road West

Pizza 73
Money Mart
Apartments

105th Avenue West

Apartments
Apartments
4 Play Acessories
Exquisite Sewing Centre
Fantasy Futons
The Cutting Room

106th Avenue East

Burger King Fast Food
Apartments
The Mean Building
  Complete Integrations
  Varnet Financial & Manuf.
Fresh Food Experience
Murillo Framing
Vacant
F.I. Macdonald Bldg.
  Wood, Onelli & Onelli Arch.
  Vacant
Vacant
Edmonton Power
Futon 2000
Popeye's Fitness

107th Avenue East

Mr. Submarine
Rent to Own
Sechuan Sam Restaurant
Presidential Studio (2)
Law Office (2)
A-Line Distributers
Action Locksmiths
Regal Furs
Hello Deli
Karl Hager Limb & Brace
Audio Arc
All West Surveys (2)
Office (2)

108th Avenue East

Walls Alive Paint & Wallpaper
Ivan A. Hall Barristers
A1 Windowguards (B)
Shirley Valenting Travel
St. George's Orthodox Church
Wilbeck Bldg. (United Way)
Colour Your World

Stony Plain Road, 124 St. South

Sumatra Gallery & Interiors
Electraum Goldsmiths
Le Petite Marche Rest.
Kareoke Rental (2)
Off the Cuff Entertainment (2)

102nd Avenue, 124th St. North

Storage Revolution
Notables
Caprice Consignment Clothing

102nd Avenue, 125th St. North

Chiropractor
Alliance Christan Bookstore
Baybe-o Hair
Prarie Oyster Deli

Group 4 Securities (2)
Chiropractor (2)
A+B Denture Clinic
Esso Car Wash/
 City Centre Cafe

106th Avenue West

Albert's Pancakes
Beltone Hearing Aids
Holiday Travel
Fine Line Engravers
House
Apartments
Toronto Dominion Bank
Maple Grocery

107th Avenue West

Scotiabank
Nikki Rama Exotic Imports
Kung-Fu (B)
Engineers (2)
Offices (2)
Roxy Theatre
124th Street Exchange
Elite Appliances
The Notions Place
The Sugar Bowl
Johnsons Sewing Machine Clinic
Edmonton Maytag Centre
Vacant
Borelli's Fresh Pasta
European/Canadian Bakery
Academy Flowers

108th Avenue West

Moorland Tailors & Gifts
SPCA
Oliver Music
Theo's Restaurant
Motta's Cafe
Medical Practice
Stat Cash Register
Second Story Clothing
Metri Skin Care
Trans Canada Credit
Electronic Service
Edmonton Appliances

Jasper Avenue, 122nd St. North

Spa Lady
The Sony Store

Jasper Avenue,123rd St. North

Bugera Gallery
Victor Michle's Florist
Ellana Bridal
Travel Cuts (2)
West End Gallery
Douglas Udell Gallery
Front Gallery
Super Optical
Optomotrist

High Street Development

- Cottswood Fine Furnishings
- Episode Clothing
- Kettle Creek Clothing
- Wine Art
- Earthly Goods (B)
- Call the Kettle Black
- Petals
- Elephants
- Eldean
- Shambles
- GrabbaJabba Coffee
- Emery's Bistro
- La Spiga Restaurant
- Hair by Antoinne
- Volume II Books
- Pastry Shop
- Sweetwater Cafe
- Dennis Miller Wines
- Jiffy Printing and Camera
- Budget Furniture
- Hella's Foods

97th Street Businesses

105th Ave West

- Pacific Rim Mall
  - Cafe Shangri-La
  - Southgate Insurance
  - Card & Gift Shop
  - Jolly Time Travel
  - Cake Shop
  - Fashion Garden
  - Universal Records
  - Hong Kong Bank of Canada
  - Century 21 (2)
  - Micro-Edge Computers (2)
  - Hong Kong Boutique (2)
  - Wendy's Fashion Shoes (2)
  - Kim Wong Jewellery (2)
  - Colourfast (2)
  - Anna Jean Lingerie (2)
  - Marco Polo Restaurant (2)
  - Police (asian) (2)
- Schmitz Denture Centre
- Golden Bird Restaurant
- Thang Long Restaurant
- Bargain Mart
- Lady Palace Clothing
- Wa Dat Electrical
- Bo-An Herbal Centre
- Pagloac Restaurant
- 288 Videogames and Pool

106th Avenue West

- Hoa Ping Trading Company
- Triple Happiness Book and Gift
- New Century Video & Sound
- Bao-Shing Chinese Herbal
- Super BBQ Delight
- NHON Fast Food
- Manna Artistic Hair
- Electronic World
- King of Kings Food
- Good Companion Bookstore
- Optomotrist
- Italian Bakery
- Southeast Asia Herbalist
- Kim Long Jewelery
- Nice Day Restaurant

107th Ave West

- BMA Professional Centre
  - Hiep Tranh Trading
  - Ed Lam Accountant (2)
  - Gordon Gin Insurance (2)
  - Sunny's Driving School (2)
  - Winston International (2)
  - Ricky & Mike Hair (2)
- Jane Jane Jewelery
- Vennisa Hair
- Vien Dong Oriental Food & Meat
- Linton Drugs

105th Street East

- Slavonic Pentacostal Temple
- Humans on Welfare
- Jade's Beauty Parlor

105A Avenue East

- Hair Salon
- Laser Century Electronics
- Mei Chee Gift Shop
- Leona Bridal
- Canadian Chinese Times
- Timely Collection
- Foon Kee Bean Cake Co.
- General Driving School
- Incaco Bridal
- Golden River Bakery
- Sai Woo Restaurant
- Hair Shadow Salon
- Fim Fat Market
- King Lee Food

106th Avenue East

- Kim Son Jewellers
- Superior Carft and Gift
- Bing Bing Beauty Salon
- Pilot Driving School
- Viet Hoa Video
- Cafe Ruby
- Tiapan Cafe

106A Avenue East

- Beauty Salon
- Hong Kong Bakery
- Citizen Travel
- Asia Books and Gifts
- 97 Jewelery
- Esthetic Salon
- Medical Clinic
- Minh Pharmacy
- Chan Chan Tailors
- Ginza
- Gold Crown Smoke Shop &Jewelery
- Street Vendor 1
- Street Vendor 2
- House of Oriental Noodles
- Dong Phuong Grocery

107th Avenue East

- Pharmacy
- Lucky 97 Market
- Royal Liquer Store
- Flower shop

98th Street, 107 Ave.

- Keen Jane Restaurant

Far East Centre
Pawn Shop
Herbalist
Chinese Herbalist co.
Golden Tower Jewelery
Photographer
Swan Boat Toys

Mai King Marketplace
Kani Massage
Islam Noodles
Wokking Restaurant

Shun Fat Marketplace
Shun Fat Market
Doans Vietnamese Restaurant

Asia Square
Megazone
Little Boat Fashions
NGOC Fashion & Bridal
Kowloon Bakery
Prosper Imports
Dragon Imperial Dept. Store

107A Avenue East
Tung Lam Grocery
Pho Hung Que Restaurant
Fairest Electronics
House
Phat Ky Restaurant
Chi Pack Bridal
Office